

# THE Catholic Mind

## ARTICLES AND ADDRESSES

Supremacy of Law	Bishop Wright	641
Pursuit of Truth to Make Men Free	E. J. Drummond, S.J.	647
Ultra-conservative Catholic Greater Esteem of Virginity	<i>The Sign</i> <i>Canadian Messenger</i> <i>of the Sacred Heart</i>	654 656
Education—and All That	<i>Commonweal</i>	664
Labor and the General Welfare	Msgr. G. G. Higgins	667
Estimate of Hemingway	<i>Pittsburgh Catholic</i>	681
Catholic Church in India	<i>Examiner</i>	685

## DOCUMENTATION

To the Latin-American Hierarchy	Pius XII	689
Persecution in Argentina	Argentine Hierarchy	693
Labor Day, 1955	Social Action Dept.,	702

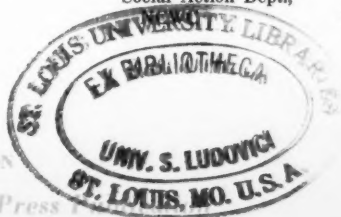
Twenty-five cents

NOVEMBER, 1955

VOL. LIII, NO. 1115

53rd YEAR  
OF PUBLICATION

An America Press



NEW BOOKS FROM

# *P. J. Kenedy & Sons*

PUBLISHERS FOR 129 YEARS



## **FAITH, REASON AND MODERN PSYCHIATRY**

Edited by FRANCIS J. BRACE-  
LAND, M.D. Foreword by John  
LaFarge. How religion and psy-  
chiatry can work together to help  
liberate the spirit of man. By 10  
noted theologians, philosophers,  
anthropologists, and psychiatrists.  
\$6.00

## **HOPE OR DESPAIR**

By A. M. CARRE. The Chris-  
tian reply to the pessimism ex-  
pressed in the attitudes and  
literature of our time. \$2.95

## **THE MEANING OF THE MONASTIC LIFE**

By LOUIS BOUYER. An anal-  
ysis of the approach to perfection,  
showing that the monastic  
ideal is Christianity at its  
maximum purity and  
intensity. \$4.00

## **THE RELIGIOUS VOCATION**

By CANON JACQUES LE-  
CLERCQ. The revolutionary new  
book on the canonical religious  
life that has won the popular and  
critical acclaim of all Europe.  
\$3.75

## **SYMBOLS OF CHRIST**

By DAMASUS WINZEN,  
O.S.B. The origins and meanings  
of the symbols that represent  
Christ, and how they unify the  
Old and New Testaments. Mag-  
nificently illustrated by William  
V. Cladek. \$2.50

## **THE PROBLEM OF JESUS**

By JEAN GUITTON. How an  
unbeliever of good will may reach  
acceptance of Christ along the  
path of reason. \$3.75

At your bookseller's  
**P. J. KENEDY & SONS**  
New York 8

# THE Catholic Mind

VOL. LIII

NOVEMBER, 1955

NO. 1115

## Supremacy of Law

MOST REV. JOHN J. WRIGHT  
*Bishop of Worcester*

*Sermon delivered at an annual Red Mass, St. Mary's Cathedral,  
San Francisco, October 5, 1954*

EACH year this votive act of adoration brings to the altar of the living God the representatives of the judiciary, and unites them in spiritual fellowship with those who, across the ages, have called down the blessings of the Almighty on the evolution of our law in the universities and halls of justice of Bologna, Paris and Oxford, and in the London Inns of Court.

We in America do well so to associate ourselves with those holy men out of the past who still bow with you before their God and yours, and answer, I have no doubt, their devout Amen to the prayer for you intoned at this altar these few moments ago: "*Deus qui corda fidelium*—O God, Who didst instruct the

hearts of the faithful by the light of the Holy Spirit, grant us by the same Holy Spirit always to relish what is right and just and ever to rejoice in His consolation! Who livest and reignest world without end!"

You need, as did they who centuries ago first planned this Votive Mass, the guidance of the Holy Spirit of God. But, it is no less true that in a very literal sense God needs you. God works through secondary causes. It is by men, not angels, that the kingdom of God is brought to pass on earth.

Wherever the truth is made manifest and by whatever man, wherever the good is vindicated and in whatever worthy cause, wherever the beautiful is brought to perfection,

whoever be the worker, there God Himself is at work. "Now there are varieties of gifts, but the same Spirit; and there are varieties of ministries, but the same Lord; and there are varieties of workings but the same God, who works all things in all . . . and all of these things are the work of one and the same Spirit" (*Romans* 12:6, 11).

The gifts which your vocation requires of you and the works you do as makers and judges of the law are so close to those of God Himself as to give them some shadow, however faint, of the divine Majesty itself. You are the wielders, in varying degrees, of sovereignty; you interpret and apply, you bind under and loose from, the positive civil law, which is the codification in our society, as God has given us to achieve it, of that natural law which the Creator implanted in the innermost hearts of men.

The authority you wield belongs so intimately to God that Bossuet could call those who hold authority and administer the law men like unto God.

You attain your offices and commissions by democratic election or by duly prescribed appointment; you are answerable to those who designate or elect you. But your sovereignty is still of God; there is no true authority which is not divine, no trust which is not sacred, no

stewardship which is not answerable ultimately to God.

### LIBERTY - AUTHORITY

In a democracy those who hold divine authority, for however brief a time, are responsible to God for the liberties of the people whom they rule.

Liberty, no less than authority, is a divine perfection. Indeed, perfect liberty is proper to God alone, for only in God does there exist, in absolute degree, that self-dominion which is implied in every concept of liberty. The mastery which in God makes perfect His liberty is identified with the divine sovereignty—and so in God freedom and sovereignty, liberty and authority are flawlessly integrated, wonderfully harmonized.

Among men, however, mastery, whether of self or of society, is never complete and never without challenge, and so freedom among men is never perfect. Among men authority, too, is always shaded with imperfection; it is frequently suspect and sometimes defiled.

Liberty and authority, so perfectly reconciled in God, are, even among men, correlative attributes. But in point of historical fact there usually exists in all forms of society a disturbing tension between the claims of authority and the pursuit of liberty.

Our fathers in this new world of



America knew that the divine attributes of liberty and authority analogously present among men could only be reconciled in our topsyturvy world if God Himself would somehow work among us to accomplish their reconciliation. Our fathers did not believe that it is enough for God to be in His Heaven in order that all be well with the world.

They knew that Heaven and earth must work together if the earth is ever to achieve something, at least, of the order which prevails in Heaven, and if the sons of men are finally to win the freedom of the sons of God.

They knew that as order is Heaven's first law, so law is the condition, the essential condition of order on earth.

Our forefathers, for reasons of prudent realism, provided in their constitutions for the separation of the organized Church and the organized State; but their idealism, even in temporal matters, was nonetheless informed and inspired by the Judaeo-Christian tradition, and especially by the Revelation transmitted by the Church; and so there is reflected in the wise laws which they wrote for the preservation of both liberty and authority a blend of the

divine and the human, a happy medley of the hopes of earth and the will of Heaven.

The men who wrote our basic laws realized that in God's holy providence all society, religious and civil alike, and all legal traditions, both of authority and of liberty, exist for the perfection of human personality. They would have understood the magnificent implications of the doctrine which our late Holy Father Pope Pius XI so wonderfully summarized:

"It is according to the dictates of reason that ultimately all things should be ordained to man as a person, that through his mediation they may find their way back to the Creator. In this wise we can apply to man, to the human person, the words of the Apostle: 'All things are yours, whether it be Paul or Apollo, or Cephas, or the world, or life, or death, or things present, or things to come; for all are yours; and you are Christ's; and Christ is God's.'" (Encyclical *Divini Redemptoris*)

#### LAW'S OBLIGATION

Hench the obligation, clear from Reason and confirmed by Revelation, for the law to weigh all things

in the scale that measures their effects on human personality.

The celebrated Declaration of the Rights of Man, despite its debatable premises and its lamentable omissions, enunciated at least one proposition that, so far as it goes, is beyond dispute: "Ignorance of and contempt for the rights of man are the chief cause of public evils and the corruption of governments."

The authors of our basic law understood that a truly humane civilization dedicated to respect for the rights of man must have a government of laws, not of men—of objective, constitutional statutes, not subjective, arbitrary impulses, however high-minded, however immediately beneficial.

They resolved that the moods and passions of the people must never be permitted to overthrow the institutions which represent their own deliberate development and their own deepest convictions.

### TO SECURE OUR LIBERTIES

Our written laws, basic among them our Constitution as interpreted by the judiciary, constitute at once the fruit of our deepest convictions and the safeguard of their survival. And these objective, constitutional controls our forefathers committed to the judiciary—to you. By your oath you are bound to preserve them.

It was an act of almost super-

human prudence so to place in the hands of judges the security of liberties.

Elsewhere, even in constitutional governments, the judicial power invariably subordinate to the legislative.

Even in England, as Chief Justice Taney once remarked, the courts are bound to enforce the acts of Parliament, even should they believe them to conflict with Magna Carta or the Petition of Rights.

But our forefathers built more wisely; they acknowledged in the executive and legislative branches of government only those powers specifically delegated to them in the Constitution. Many of these men have long since ceased for reasons of state history to catch the overtones of divine authority in the pronouncements of the Roman Pontiff; but all of them, I think, would have endorsed with full understanding a declaration broadcast some time ago from the Vatican, a declaration directed primarily, of course, against the dictatorships of the moment, but setting forth a principle contradicting all arbitrary and totalitarian government. Said the radio orator:

The Pope indicts attempts to subordinate juridical and legislative activities to the requirements of particular groups, classes or movements, these must be subordinated only to the establishment of justice and to the service of society as a whole . . . The Pope condemns those who dare

place the hands of judges who as errors and that a placed a governed of arbitra

Mindf our fore: ered their ance with principle demand political tradition however or by a ble or

But Throu fathers c an peop selves a Our c has sai thought An ex uenced p tionmen ment; M iren so forget

same p stamped even a demand And the jud

place the fortunes of whole nations in the hands of one man alone, a man who as such is the prey of passions, errors and dreams . . . It is essential that a pre-established set of laws be placed above the governor and the governed alike, far outside the reach of arbitrary action.

Mindful of such salutary truths, our forefathers providently empowered their courts to test, in accordance with well-settled and familiar principles of law and equity, every demand for further power, for political action, for departure from tradition made by any executive, however wise or however popular, or by any legislature, however capable or however representative.

### BULWARK OF FREEDOM

Through their courts, as our forefathers constituted them, the American people themselves protect themselves against themselves.

Our courts represent, as one critic has said, the settled habits of thought and action of our people.

An executive might easily be influenced powerfully by the disillusionment or the dreams of the moment; he might be deluded by the siren song of the elusive future and forget the warning voice of the same past. A Congress might be stampeded by a madcap outcry, and even a majority might be found to demand crude and cruel legislation.

And so our forefathers looked to the judiciary to decide whether a

popular and passing whim has resulted in political action which contradicts the constitutional guarantees of personal liberty and political security. If so, even the majority must withdraw its demand, or give its apparent wish the time for patient meditation and cautious procedure required in order to revise the Constitution.

But to override the Constitution, to despise the tradition, this would be revolution, and our forefathers, though they might and did revolt against men, permitted no revolution against the law.

For them no political dream could be so dazzling, no social need so urgent, no executive so capable, no majority so overwhelming, that our forefathers would permit any or all of these to put aside the codified tradition of the Constitution and its authentic interpretation. That is what our forefathers meant when they planned a government of laws not of men.

This conservatism of our forefathers was not designed to enslave us in the name of the past, but was calculated to save us from enslavement in the name of the future.

It recognized that hard-won liberties can be speedily lost under the seduction of easily promised future freedoms, that the God-given heritage of the past and the sacred liber-

ties of the present can be sacrificed in the name of the future which may never be, which perhaps were better not.

The conservatism of our forefathers is particularly saving in time of crisis; it reminds us that there will be, when the tumult and the shouting dies, no new heaven and no new earth.

It reminds us that the citizens of the brave new world to be will still be men, not gods. It reminds us that any future world can only be built out of whatever good survives from the old.

It warns us never to hold lightly the good which our forefathers built so patiently here in this Continent; never to gamble with the liberties which are the heart and soul of that good; never to permit the religious faith to grow cold which taught us those liberties; never to forget the blessings on this land by which Almighty God has confirmed the wisdom of those who, building it, honored Him and His chief creature, the human person.

### WORLD CHAOS

It may be that you do not always discern the blessing of God on the faith of our fathers. But if you doubt the wrath of God on those who thus propose to forget that

faith and to desert its social cordillaries, then I invite you to advance once more to the military, economic and political preoccupations which you left behind you at the doors of this church and to which too soon you must return.

No defense of Christianity and of the values which it taught our forefathers could be more effective than the present straits to which new prophets, contemptuous of the faith, have reduced the world. Should contemplation of these disasters, which infidelity to God and to the Law has released upon whole areas of the world, dishearten you in your effort to cleave to the ancient traditions of our people, know that as God was with our fathers so will He be with us.

Take heart from the memory of how our forefathers made possible the fulfillment, on these shores, of the prophetic word of the Psalmist: "Blessed are the people whose God is their Lord."

Learn from the history of this land and never forget it, that for those who love God all things work together unto good—in accordance with law, natural and revealed, human and divine: the laws which you so earnestly apply and those to which you so devoutly live.

"P

Add

PERE

June  
cational  
tury old  
sities is  
were un  
ered ar  
in Al  
wether  
a singl  
early  
with th  
not pr  
formal  
neverth  
it app  
accept  
object

Mar  
just be  
is you  
has a  
beyon  
asked  
writte  
to ma  
as th  
year.  
ation

# "Pursuit of Truth to Make Men Free"

EDWARD J. DRUMMOND, S.J.

*Academic Vice-President, Marquette University*

*Address at preview dinner marking the start of Marquette University's  
75th anniversary celebration, Milwaukee, Wis., June 1, 1955.*

**P**ERE MARQUETTE was born on June 1, 1637, and Jesuit educational tradition is almost a century older. But the history of universities is older still; and before there were universities, scholars had gathered around wise men in Athens and in Alexandria. These scholars, whether attracted by the wisdom of a single man or gathered into the early universities, were concerned with the pursuit of truth. If they did not profess that this pursuit was formally aimed at making men free, nevertheless they would have been, it appears to me, quite willing to accept that as one statement of their objectives.

Marquette University, which is just beginning her 75th anniversary, is young as an institution; but she has a history and a heritage that go beyond her own first days. When asked to describe her work, she has written down, "The pursuit of truth to make men free," and taken this as the theme for her anniversary year. It should deepen our appreciation of the great tradition of higher

learning and our understanding of our specific characteristics if we talk a bit about each of those words, "pursuit," "truth," "men," "free."

A pursuit is a quest—therefore, eagerness; it is a quest by many—therefore, cooperative. It calls for patience and humility. We must be willing, as it has been said, to sit down humbly before a fact like a child. Carlyle, when told that Margaret Fuller had said she was willing to accept the universe, wryly remarked, "Gad, she'd better."

This pursuit implies the wish and the deed to practise a kind of celibacy so far as goals like wealth and power are concerned in order to devote oneself more fixedly to education, to a field within it. For the pursuit which marks the scholar is as warm-hearted as a lover's and as steady as a star's. Where it has existed, schools have flourished; and where it has weakened and died, schools have died, no matter what alumni or legislatures say or do.

Men of wealth have helped to found universities; popes and kings

and presidents have granted them special status and privileges. But ultimately it is the dedication to the pursuit of truth which creates the university; it is the scholar who makes the institution. And this is true whether we recall the royal foundations of Oxford and Cambridge or the Jesuit schools which dotted Europe during the 17th and early 18th centuries. In our country, where Americans have always tended to look on education as the eighth sacrament, there has been strong support from public funds for state institutions, and private benefactors have assisted great institutions of learning. John Harvard and Ezra Cornell have given to universities which bear their names; the Johnston family has more anonymously served Marquette. Our debt is great to the Johnstons and all our generous friends, but our debt is also great to the scholarly and those who have pursued wisdom, in the classroom and out of it: to men like Rigge, Burrowes, Spalding, Copus and McCormick.

### TRUTH

What is this truth to which the scholar is committed, for which the university organizes its quest? In a sense, it might seem to the outsider that the university dichotomizes reality and finds legal truth in buckram volumes, medical truth in

test tubes, social truth in statistics. But it is not truth itself which is dichotomized; it is rather that the university professes no area of reality to be foreign to her search.

Truth itself, however, is more simple and profound than the proliferated questings which a large university may undertake. Truth is a relation between the knowing mind and the object. It is essentially involved with being; we know what we can say, "is." There is a relative side to our knowing, for not all our knowing is certain, and all of it is limited and finite. Nevertheless, truth is concerned with absolutes, eventually and ultimately. So also must be our knowing, or the pursuit of truth becomes a ghost-chasing game.

Truth is a relation, and only I can know it for me. No human being can find truth and give it to me, as you might feed a baby or pass out pamphlets or mimeographed notes. Although we possess truth as individuals, it can hardly be pursued profitably and efficiently in complete isolation. One of the complaints of the scientists today about the restricted nature of information concerning nuclear physics is the loss of cooperative effort in the pursuit of physical truth. In many areas of research teamwork has become almost a strict necessity. And on the part of the learners, the students, the commu-

nity aspects of importance were built into something he common pursuit

A university discipline must unite Truth of ultimate against would of credibility ethertheless the way he disciplines a university of law, arts, and

And truth.

natural so to s ural t because there e relation. direct to kn to kn reveal His e Script

It formal purpo

nity aspect of learning is just as important. Newman said that if he were building a university, the first thing he would build would be the common room. *Vae solis* in the pursuit of truth.

A university can embrace many disciplines because there is an ultimate unity; there is only one truth. Truth cannot contradict itself or ultimately we have "is" arrayed against "is not." In that case there would only be a world of unintelligibility and of nothingness. Nevertheless, man must seek truth in the way he can. And that is why he divides it into different disciplines and professions within a university and why we have faculties of law, of medicine, of theology, of arts, and the like.

And there are different orders of truth. There is the truth we know naturally, by our own pure efforts, so to speak; and there is supernatural truth which we know only because God gave it directly. Yet there is still only a single truth; there is, if you will, only one revelation. Some facts God reveals indirectly by giving us this cosmos to know and our minds by which to know it. And there is His direct revelation which He made through His own special instruments—the Scriptures, the prophets, the Church.

It is not my purpose to become formally theological. But it is my purpose to emphasize that Marquette

is a university which can concern itself with the whole range of intelligibility, the whole gamut of truth, the total of all that is. A technical school by its commitment does not profess to be able to undertake research in, nor communication of, the fine arts nor of law and medicine; it confines itself to the truth in the area of the pure and applied physical sciences. Some universities, because of their historical heritage, the fact or interpretation of positive law, or the development of their own institutional epistemology, have limited themselves to that "is" which can be known naturally. Theoretically, that limitation is satisfactory so long as it is understood that such institutions do not profess to commit themselves to the pursuit of all possible truth in its fullest range. Practically, this limitation raises other problems which I do not wish to develop here, at this time. But I do say that at Marquette we can count it among our blessings that this university can pursue truth full circle and embrace all its 360 degrees.

### MAN

The simple fact is that man, compared to the visible world around him, is unique. Sophocles sang about his singular qualities; literature, before and since *Antigone*, in dwelling on the glory and on the

tragic side of man, has but spelled out this fact of singularity. He is made to the image of God, for he can think, and he can say, "I will."

He is not dwarfed when compared to giant reds seen through the telescope at Palomar, nor lost in the maze discovered through the electron microscope. If he has existence like a stone, organic growth like a tree, sensitive awareness like a dog, he has more than just the ability to develop callouses on two rather than four of his extremities. He can get at reality and do something about it. With his mind he can possess something of what is, and he can possess something of reality with his will; he can know, become wiser; he can want, desire, love.

### A COMPOSITE NATURE

Man is a microcosm. He is partly matter and partly spirit, but he is neither angel nor orangutan. He has his economic side, and though economics is a mighty motive in the acts of individuals and of society, there is no purely economic man. He is an individual with rights and responsibilities which he can neither forswear nor be deprived of; yet he is a social being and must live with other men. Man has a composite nature; in understanding his composite nature, he must recognize that there is a duality, that there is a natural and supernatural order, that his destiny is not com-

pletely explained in terms of the nitrogen cycle nor his days fully numbered by carbon 14.

Man cannot overlook or deny any of his multi-faceted character and live his full life. He must be aware that his cultural and genetic roots thrust far back into history and his future arcs into eternity. And if he over-simplifies anything of his composite nature, he becomes an unrealist. That on the side of knowing and of truth. Nor can he overlook or deny any of his multiplied reality without losing something of his freedom in his denial. If he ties up an arm or covers up his eyes, he neither increases his knowledge nor his freedom.

Man is a microcosm, but what makes him essentially man is not his being an unfeathered biped dependent upon an inherited genetic structure, which is complicated and qualified by policemen, cycles of supply and demand, billboards and commercials, osmotic pressure and the Bureau of Internal Revenue. Man can think and man can will, even if these are not unlimited powers. Man can lay hold of truth with his mind, fumblingly, haltingly—yes—but, within limits, firmly and certainly. Furthermore, in part, man achieves his own destiny. If he keeps conformed to reality by his intelligence, he can choose to maintain that conformity by his will. The more he knows of reality, the

more he  
to it, th

A u  
unders  
that h  
widely  
logical  
history  
him to  
self an  
manit  
theolo  
edge a  
viding  
fuller  
know  
keepi  
self to  
aids

Of  
prob  
half  
cons  
dlin  
they  
way  
mak  
does  
like  
wish  
wish  
bein  
N  
mat  
fre  
cho



more he freely chooses to conform to it, the more he really is a man.

A university can assist man to understand the complex composite that he is. It can develop more widely the known truth in the biological sciences, and in sociology, history, in economics. It can assist him to know more and more of himself and all reality through the humanities, through philosophy and theology. By providing that knowledge for man, the university is providing a basis for men to act with fuller freedom. What aids man to know the truth, what aids him in keeping himself free to commit himself to the whole of truth and reality aids him in matters paramount.

#### MAN HAS THE POWER OF FREEDOM

Of course, there is always the problem of meddling. Meddling is halfway between kibitzing and real constraint. Men do not like meddling because they like to be free; they want to do things their own way, as they see them. You can make a man do something, but that does not mean you can make him like it. Nothing can make a man wish to do something he does not wish to do. That is the essence of being a man and of being free.

Many of man's actions are automatic and many are only partly free. But we do have some free choices. We know in some things

that we are acting quite freely, doing our own deciding. Moreover, we can see real alternatives, whether to do this or that—drink beer or scotch or go dry. All this is to say that man has the power of freedom. Today freedom is a good word; just as subversive, divisive and egg-head today are bad words. But freedom is more than a good word; it is a good thing. The more man is really free, the more he is a man. Right here, however, some wrong notions can quite literally cramp man's proper style. Thus, the way to stay free is to keep from really committing yourself. Once you've decided, you've done it; you're no longer free to decide. Worse, because truth is so slippery, you're probably wrong besides. So the pursuit of truth becomes a game of musical chairs, and freedom is the power to sit on the edge of your seat and be ready to run.

One of our colleagues has lined up this question and its answer very well. "An open mind," he wrote, "is an excellent thing, like an open mouth. But mouths were made to close on food and minds on truth. We cannot be open minded about the multiplication table, nor should we be open minded about the one we love. Certainly, when we choose to love, we've lost the power of making that choice again. What of it? We have gained the beloved, and I take it that it is better to have than

not to have. To commit ourselves, this is 'excellent.'

But we must make sure the commitment is right. We choose the good and by choosing make it our good. Nevertheless, it is not a real good unless we have chosen reality. To know the truth will not make a man good, and a man can be good without being a learned man. Still a man cannot direct his desires fully toward reality and square himself with it unless he does know the truth. The more he knows of reality, other things being equal, the more he can exercise his freedom properly so that, seeing reality, he can choose it and make it his.

There is a delicate balance and inter-relationship between will and intellect, for they are powers born and rooted in the same person, the individual man. Man the knower will not know fully unless he loves and is attracted by and wants the truth, unless he pursues it. He cannot be a neutralist towards the truth and regard it coldly and sterilely. Man, if he is to continue to be man and not something else, must always seek reality, intently, intelligently, and when he has found it, commit himself to it.

A university pursues truth so that men may be able to see reality in more and more accurate detail, so that men can understand economic reality and not be caught up in useless strife, senseless and selfish

manipulation of trade—so that men can understand the laws of health and more and more be free from the inroads of disease—that more and more they may comprehend their individual and social natures, and neither regard society purely as their instrument and creation nor develop a society which looks on individual persons as its creatures or tools. So for all the rest, up to theology where the university scholar, the theologian, discusses the data of revelation in order that men may understand more and more of this reality and freely accept it.

#### CANNOT BE NEUTRALIST

The university in its concern with the further development of the known truth and with its communication must realize that it cannot be neutralist, not merely towards the truth, for that were to negate its very objective, but not neutralist towards the good either. For the university is made up of persons, the learner and the learned, and in these persons the powers of mind and will strongly influence each other; psychology and common observation make this clear. Moreover, even if a neutralism were possible psychologically, it would not be possible ontologically. Men decide their ultimate destiny and write their personal failure or success with their wills. No community of persons may be unconcerned about that.

Ne  
conce  
univer  
self w  
a un  
velop  
know  
guish  
off.  
ment  
man,  
noran  
the v  
done  
that  
freel

soc  
"cr  
wh

pee  
int

as  
is  
co  
If  
ha  
do

Nevertheless, a university's first concern is with truth. Not that a university believes knowledge of itself will make a man good; rather a university's commitment to develop and communicate what is known is the specific sign distinguishing its work and marking it off. Why this concern and commitment? Because knowledge befits man, because it is better than ignorance. More than that, because the work of a university properly done assists man to see more clearly that which is good, choose it more freely, and avoid being fooled into

choosing something less than reality.

Marquette University, as she steadily and eagerly pursues the whole truth, can help all its members, those inside the university as well as the communities it serves, to know and to be free. This is a great thing, not only because it aids them to know and thus to maintain their freedom, the greatest human good, but because in assisting them to see reality steadily the university is ultimately aiding them to see and to accept freely the greatest good, the *Summum Bonum*, which is God.



### ***Unemployment Benefits and Socialism***

A lot of people call everything we do "creeping Socialism." They called social security that and they called pensions that. I don't know really what "creeping Socialism" is. If the critics will define the term, I'll tell them whether I think this is "creeping Socialism."

We have to keep up with the times. Every time we do something new, people cry that it's either Communism or Socialism.—*Henry Ford 2d in an interview, June, 1955.*



### ***Sports under Communism***

Sometimes a sport is "bourgeois" in one Communist country and accepted as a "people's sport" in another. For example, hockey in Czechoslovakia is on the approved and encouraged list, while in Hungary, where it is comparatively new and badly played, it is strictly "bourgeois" nonsense. If the Hungarians were suddenly to develop a good team, and the Czechs had to toss one of theirs into jail, presumably some renaming would be done.—*J. J. Hanlin in COLUMBIA, August, 1955.*

# The Ultra-conservative Catholic

RALPH GORMAN, C.P.  
*Editor of the SIGN*

*Reprinted from the SIGN\**

**T**HERE'S been a lot of talk about liberal Catholics. We haven't heard much about ultra-conservative Catholics, although we think they are more numerous. We haven't sufficient space to describe the species but here are a few general characteristics.

The ultra-conservative Catholic has great difficulty accepting labor unions. He may not deny explicit Church doctrine that workingmen have a natural right to organize. His attitude is: "Unions are all right, but . . ." It's the "but" that matters. He never finds a union without defects, so he never finds one that is acceptable. To him all unions are Red or pink or leftist or corrupt or gangster ridden or predatory. If he applied the same rigid norms to other groups, he would have to reject every organization functioning in this poor world of ours.

The ultra-conservative Catholic also has an allergy to anything that smacks of international cooperation. In fact, the word international is in itself derogatory. He can understand charity between individuals, but not between nations. He is often generous in aiding the weak, the needy, the orphan, the homeless. But let Uncle Sam do the same thing on an international scale and he immediately cries out in alarm. He is suspicious of all moves to lessen restrictions on immigration so that some of Europe's pitiful escapees, refugees and expellees can be admitted to this country. Without realizing it, his attitude is expressed in the cynical question of the first fratricide: "Am I my brother's keeper?"

The ultra-conservative Catholic belongs to an international organization in the religious sphere, but he just can't accept an international organization in the secular sphere. Few would be so silly as to deny the defects and weaknesses of the United Nations as it is now organized and functions. But that it should be disbanded and its buildings closed is quite another thing. At least the United Nations is a step in the

\* Union City, N. J., March, 1955

right direction. It is accepted as such by the Holy Father, to whom our ultra-conservative friends could listen to their great advantage.

The organization within the United Nations that almost gives the ultra-conservative a stroke is Unesco. Like its parent organization, Unesco has defects, but it's good enough to secure the cooperation of the Holy Father. The Pope has shown his good-will by sending a permanent observer to Unesco.

### IGNORANT OF CATHOLIC SOCIAL TEACHING

The ultra-conservative Catholic has something in common with Hitler, Mussolini and Peron. In this, he is usually the wealthy, employer type. He thinks ecclesiastics should be confined to the sacristy and to mouthing general religious principles without applying them to the hard realities of daily economic life. To this type, Westbrook Pegler is a minor deity, although his knowledge of Catholic social teaching just about equals a Hottentot's. In a recent effusion, Pegler declared with ultra-pontifical certainty: "The right-to-work or open-shop issue is a political problem within the authority of the States. Any religious counsel, whether of the Vatican or any council of ministers or rabbis, is only advisory."

There are a lot of ultra-conservative Catholics who agree with Pegler in spite of the forceful denunciations of these laws by some of our bishops. Such laws involve a moral issue, a question of justice. They are in a sphere in which the Church has a right to teach. Pope Pius XI made this principle clear in his Encyclical *Quadragesimo Anno*: "The deposit of truth that God committed to us and the grave duty of disseminating and interpreting the whole moral law, and of urging it in season and out of season, bring under and subject to our supreme jurisdiction not only the social order but economic activities themselves."

The explanation of the ultra-conservative Catholic lies in his ignorance. He is unacquainted with Catholic social teaching. He has no knowledge of the great documents in which recent popes have given us their divinely authorized guidance to help us solve the problems that we face today.

As a beginning we would like to prescribe for the ultra-conservative Catholic a daily reading of papal declarations in place of his favorite right-wing columnist.

## Greater Esteem of Virginity

G. K. McINERNEY, S.J.

*Reprinted from THE CANADIAN MESSENGER OF THE SACRED HEART\**

**I**N A RECENT book on the use and the abuse of authority, Archbishop Roberts, S.J., says of marriage: "How many Christian parents, priests, or teachers . . . have really grasped God's glorious plan for us, human images of three Divine Persons precisely as male and female persons producing a third in the perfect mutual giving of true love?" It was this "glorious plan for us" that the Son of God, when He came on earth, raised to the dignity of a sacrament. Therefore the excellence of marriage is indisputable. It is proclaimed in Scripture and in the teaching of the Church. St. Paul goes the length of comparing it with the ineffable union between Christ and His Church, which is His Spouse. The Fathers of the Church have discoursed on the sacredness of marriage; the great Councils and the Popes in their encyclical letters right up to our own day have explained and stressed the prerogatives and the responsibilities of marriage. All this is completely as it should be.

No Catholic would dream of questioning it. Yet this insistence was never meant to blind us to the fact that, as a state of life, marriage does not compare with Christian virginity; and there is some danger now that things should get so out of focus as to make people underrate a state of life that is really more perfect than the married state.

What, then, is virginity? Father Vermeersch, the moral theologian, explains it as follows: "It is that reverence for bodily integrity which is suggested by a virtuous motive. It is common to both sexes. Now there are two elements in virginity: the material element, that is to say, the absence in the past and in the present of all complete and voluntary sexual delectation, whether from lust or from the lawful use of marriage; and the formal element, or the firm resolution to abstain forever from sexual pleasure. It should be observed," he insists, "that, just as material virginity is not destroyed by every sin against the Sixth and Ninth Commandments, so also the

\*2 Dale Ave., Toronto 5, Ont., May, 1955

resoluti  
more th  
bodily  
stricted  
least o  
might  
and cou

In S  
extols  
taken f  
—for  
meant  
intend  
souls.  
capere  
this in  
enough  
Virgin  
gift of  
give t  
to dis  
help c

Lik  
in hi  
thian  
praise  
"I w  
state  
his o  
to liv  
To t  
ows,  
well  
myse  
of  
(7-9  
alwa

resolution of virginity extends to more than the mere preservation of bodily integrity; for, if it were restricted to that, the resolution, at least outside the marriage state, might coexist with vicious desires and could not then be virtuous."

In St. Matthew's Gospel Our Lord extols virginity where it is undertaken for "the Kingdom of Heaven"—for God. It is not a command meant for everybody, but a counsel intended for specially endowed souls. Hence the words, *Qui potest capere, capiat*, as if to say, "Take this in, you whose hearts are large enough for it" (Matt. 19, 10-12). Virginity is a special and precious gift of God, but one that God will give to many if only they are willing to dispose themselves for it by the help of His grace.

### VIRGINITY PRAISED

Like His Master, the Apostle Paul in his First Epistle to the Corinthians, having spoken of marriage, praises virginity as a better way: "I wish you were all in the same state as myself; but each of us has his own endowment from God, one to live in this way, another in that. To the unmarried, and to the widows, I would say that they will do well to remain in the same state as myself, but if they have not the gift of continence, let them marry" (7-9). Therefore it is that Catholics always have held voluntary virgin-

ity a more perfect way than marriage. Christ Himself was a virgin. He chose for Himself a Virgin Mother, and in His dying hour confided her for safe-keeping to the virgin priest, St. John. The Fathers of the Church are at one in their praise of virginity. Saint John Chrysostom, the two Gregorys, Ambrose, Jerome and Augustine wrote entire treatises on the subject. They tell us how this perfect integrity of body, enhanced by a purpose of perpetual chastity, produces a special likeness to Christ. And, finally, Catholics have no choice in their appraisal of this question, for the Council of Trent, in the tenth canon of its twenty-fourth session, pronounces anathema against those who hold the married state to be more perfect than virginity or celibacy.

"Why was this waste of the ointment made?" the indignant ones muttered to themselves when Mary of Bethany anointed the feet of Christ at the supper of Simon the Leper. "This ointment might have been sold for more than 300 pence, and given to the poor." Thus it stands in the Gospel according to St. Mark, 14, 4-5. The Gospel according to St. John attributed the thought to Judas Iscariot, and the Evangelist adds: "Now he said this, not because he cared for the poor; but because he was a thief, and having the purse, carried the things that were put therein" (12, 4-6).

From that time to this the same complaint has been urged repeatedly against things and persons dedicated to God, and more often than not the motives that prompt it now are as mixed and suspect as they were then. So often these critics have no concern for the poor; their concern is with the 300 pence, with their own selfish interests, or with the gods of materialism, and what they mistakenly consider to be progress. In their book it is perfectly becoming to build colossal business houses and railway stations that look like medieval cathedrals; only they have no patience with the people of that age of faith who raised those glorious structures lovingly and painstakingly to the glory of God. Their self-righteousness must make them forget the devastating answer Our Lord made to Judas here and to Simon the Pharisee that other time—the answer which begins: “Simon, I have somewhat to say to thee . . .” (Luke 7, 40).

#### FALSE ARGUMENT

So, too, for persons who consecrate their lives to God in the priesthood or in religion, the modern Pharisee reserves the same sour treatment. At best, the priest, the religious man or woman—notably the contemplative religious—is afraid of life, will not face up to the difficult business of gaining a livelihood; the aim is security, es-

capism, the sheltered life safe from the demands of the harsh world outside. He simply shirks his responsibilities; he is a parasite, an incubus on society; he must be supported by society and makes no tangible contribution to the common good. “Unnatural” is the word in most common use to describe his life. Sex, after all, is the most basic of human instincts (which, of course, it is not), and the natural law dictates that men and women should marry; the very preservation, the continuance, of the race demands that. And we have revealed religion saying the same—God’s word in Genesis: “Increase and multiply.” More, the celibate life, because it is unnatural, leads to all sorts of undesirable aberrations, like chronic introversion, self-centeredness, misanthropy; hence the incurable psychopath, the soured recluse. Man is a social animal; society is indispensable for the full and proper development of the human person. Rejection of its natural associations yields only the eccentric, the badly integrated personality. So runs the false argument.

This brand of criticism misses out on three important considerations that make the difference between the abnormal and the exceptional. First, confusion about what we may call rule and exception; rule, in the sense that marriage is the usual way of life for men and women. But this

usual way  
Our Lord  
exception  
excellen  
did not  
most. He  
atively  
better th  
very we  
or this

Second  
unnatural  
perhaps  
no prece  
There  
the two  
the su  
wether  
we are  
Histori  
purely  
been,  
never  
was p  
man v  
in the  
grace  
God.  
by sin  
him  
That  
lot: h  
natur  
natur  
super  
attain  
Bu



usual way allows for exceptions, and Our Lord Himself pointed out the exception when He praised the more excellent way called virginity. He did not intend it for all, or even for most. He intended it for the comparatively few. Also virginity was a better thing in itself, though it might very well not be better for this man or this woman.

### THE SUPERNATURAL

Secondly, the critics confuse the unnatural and the supernatural, perhaps because most of them have no precise idea of the supernatural. There is a vast difference between the two. The unnatural is a blight; the supernatural, a blessing. And, whether we are aware of it or not, we are all in the supernatural order. Historically, man was never in the purely natural state. He might have been, he could have been, but he never was. The purely natural state was possible, never actual. Actually, man was created in the beginning in the supernatural way, created in grace for heaven and the sight of God. He lost his supernatural life by sin, but the loss did not reduce him to the merely natural plane. That was the appalling aspect of his lot: his loss was a loss in the supernatural order, loss of the supernatural vision of God, loss of the supernatural means whereby to attain it.

But God promised a Redeemer

Who would come when the time was ripe to win back for fallen man the supernatural privileges that he had forfeited by sin. Once again heaven was opened and the means of getting there were restored and even multiplied. Now the stuff of the supernatural is grace; sanctifying grace, we call it, because of its effect, because it makes us holy and ready for heaven. This grace is like a new life superadded to the natural life of the soul. That is why it is called supernatural: it is added to nature, it is over and above the exigency of nature; it is purely gratuitous, a gift to which we have no natural claim at all.

There is, then, a world of difference between the supernatural and the unnatural, between what is above nature and what is against nature. The unnatural is the undoing of nature, its defeat; the supernatural is the perfecting of nature, its victory—the perfecting of nature, for the supernatural, far from stifling nature, works along with it, and also elevates it. This is basic and elementary. The science of asceticism would consider suspect any course of action that clashed with the natural development of the human personality. The whole story comes down to this, that God can make saints only out of human beings. He does not confer His gifts of the supernatural on stones, on plants, or animals. He confers it on

people, lodges it in the human soul; it is like a principle of life, a second soul. More, the degree of grace conferred depends on God's wish; to one He gives one talent, to another five, to another ten. Therefore, when Our Lord and St. Paul, in His name, counseled virginity, they counseled it only for those whose supernatural endowment warranted it: "Let those accept this who can: *qui potest capere, capiat*; and—"Each of us has his own endowment from God, one to live in this way, another in that." If the gift of the supernatural is to mature, it must flourish under the hand of God Who "gives the increase" (I Cor. 3, 6).

The third mistake of the critics is to look only on the negative side of celibacy and to disregard its more important positive angle. Self-denial done merely to spite the world or to spite oneself has no merit in it. Penance for its own sake is mere stoicism. To take up the cross only because of the pain it promises is fetish. Sorrow and joy in themselves are completely indifferent things; it is their motivation that transforms them. Our Lord did not say only, "Take up thy cross," but "Take up thy cross and follow Me." It is the following of Christ that changes the cross from a symbol of defeat to one of triumph. So when Our Lord extols virginity, it is not virginity on its own account that He praises; not virginity embraced because of dis-

taste for married life, or to shirk the responsibilities of family life; not virginity as an escape or cultivated out of a kind of foolish pride in mere bodily integrity; but virginity "for the Kingdom of God." In any endeavor the great driving force is motivation; excellence in all departments of human striving goes back to that. This holds for the supernatural way as well, and, if a supernatural venture is to succeed, right proportion demands that the motivation for it also be supernatural. Otherwise, the venture will fail, and those aberrations of which the critics speak will be verified.

#### MOTIVE OF VIRGINITY

Pope Pius XII in his encyclical letter of March, 1954, "On Holy Virginity," insists particularly on this last point. More than likely virginity is not a virtue in its own right; it simply means the purpose, usually safeguarded and sanctified by vow, of preserving perfect chastity. More than this, chastity is a mode of charity; which is to say, that virginity is inspired by a virtue superior to that of chastity; it is inspired by charity, so that the superior virtue of charity communicates to virginity its own beauty.

Charity, says St. Paul, is the most excellent of the virtues, because it is the love of God and the love of the neighbor for His sake. Charity, therefore, looks to activity moti-

vated by in every should i thoughts, people in Christian exempt charity exercised modes o call "sta their lov saints in sanctity

But t calculat of perfe sanctity you find measure sacrifice greater love. T called o this wo freely life a p by the whole-h to dedi

So consec poverty which to God end al Father

vated by the love of God. It operates in every part of Christian living; it should inspire and consecrate the thoughts, the words and the acts of people in every walk of life. No Christian life, no phase of life, is exempt from its demands. But charity admits of degrees and is exercised differently in the various modes of Christian living which we call "states of life." By excelling in their love of God people can become saints in any of these states, and sanctity must be the aim of all.

But there is a state of life best calculated to insure the attainment of perfection, shaped, so to say, for sanctity. For where you find sanctity you find prayerful sacrifice, and the measure of love is the measure of sacrifice. Ordinarily, then, the greater the sacrifice, the greater the love. That is why those especially called of God, those who "can take this word," set forth for themselves freely and explicitly and early in life a program of sacrifice dictated by their love of God, the more whole-heartedly and single-mindedly to dedicate themselves to His service.

### THE RELIGIOUS STATE

So we have the religious state consecrated by the triple vow of poverty, chastity, obedience, by which the religious binds himself to God exclusively, rejecting for that end all that might interfere with the Father's business. Therefore owner-

ship and independent use of private property must go, because these material things, good in themselves, have a way of intruding upon the interests of those whose property they are. Only if one disembarrasses oneself of material concerns can one devote to the more important spiritual side the attention it deserves. But there is more yet. Deliberately to deprive oneself of the right to own things is sacrifice severe enough. That means to give up what one *has*. To consecrate one's very body and mind and will to God's service by virginity and obedience is severer still, for that means to give up what one *is*. And this is done, be it remembered, "for the Kingdom of God." "He who is unmarried," says St. Paul, "is concerned with the Lord's claim, intent on holiness, asking how he is to please God; whereas the married man is concerned with the world's claim, asking how he is to please his wife; and thus he is at issue with himself. So a woman who is free from wedlock, or a virgin, is concerned with the Lord's claim, intent on holiness, bodily and spiritual; whereas the married woman is concerned with the world's claim, asking how she is to please her husband" (I Cor. 7, 32-34).

This, then, is the basic motivation for it all. The life of virginity is accepted, chosen, "for the Kingdom of God," for charity, to bring the

world to God, to bring all into His Kingdom of truth and love and peace. To secure that purpose, God's instrument must be ready to His hand, unspoiled by the concerns of the world if he is going to be efficient in saving the world. The virgin forsakes the things of the world so as to advance untrammelled by material attractions in the business of spiritual salvation; the virgin sacrifices the comforts and the intimacy of family life to show no favorites but to be "all things to all," with the whole world for family. The virgin sacrifices independence to be freer for the battle against the pride of life, to make all the true freedmen and children of God.

#### ACTIVE AND CONTEMPLATIVE

There is the active apostolate, where work for others is more manifest to the outside, issuing in a multiplicity and a diversity of charitable ministrations, the mere recital of which would take pages to set down. And how could all this be achieved, let people ask themselves, how could the schools, the hostels, the homes for the aged and indigent, the hospitals away above the proportion of the Catholic population in most countries, the stupendous missionary effort of the Church be maintained, if it were not for the sacrifices of those whose lives are consecrated to charity, who work only for that cause and for no earthly emolu-

ment? More important still, there is the contemplative religious life, the life of Nazareth "hidden with Christ in God" (Col. 3, 3), the way of Mary, who on her Master's word had "chosen the better part" (Luke 10, 42). There is much evil in life. The Prince of this world continues unremittently his war for souls, unsparing in the snares he lays for the unwary. The business of sin is his stock in trade. He infests the world with sin. The wonder at times is that God's patience should longer abide the insolence of His enemies; that, as of old, God should not again regret that He had made man and destroy him utterly from the face of the earth. Who is to say what restrains His hand? Might it not well be the "ten just in Israel," the lives of God's devoted servants whose prayer and sacrifice keep the rest from His wrath and spare them for possible conversion and salvation?

#### "THE BOND OF PERFECTION"

Charity is the love of God, and love means union; so that the more one loves God the closer to God one draws, the more united with Him one becomes. Then to come nearer to God is to come closer to perfection, and St. Paul calls charity "the bond of perfection" (Col. 3, 14). Must it not therefore be true that the people closest to God are the most perfect men and women the

world l  
ple! Be  
How c  
but the  
most h  
elemen  
sonalit  
the sac  
Who is  
of pers  
Who is  
That  
have c  
we alw  
better  
the wo  
their p  
are G  
eternit  
saw i

"  
you  
volu  
raise  
rests  
child  
after  
and  
Pres  
Sub

world has known? Unbalanced people! Badly integrated personalities! How can there possibly be aught but the most exquisite balance, the most harmonious blending of the elements that go to make up personality when a person is united in the sanctity of charity with Him Who is truth and the very fulness of personality, the Triune God, He Who is Three Persons in One God?

That is the reason why, when we have come to know saintly people, we always have felt so much the better for it, and have found that the world was a better place because their presence graces it. For these are God's best friends now and in eternity, the ones whom St. John saw in vision standing nearest to

God's throne: "Then I looked, and saw where the Lamb stood on Mount Sion, amidst a company of a hundred and forty-four thousand, with His name, and His Father's name, written on their foreheads. And I heard a sound from heaven, louder than water in full flood . . . It was a song none else might learn to sing but the hundred and forty-four thousand that came ransomed from the earth. These have kept their virginity undefiled . . .; these are the Lamb's attendants, wherever He goes; these have been ransomed for God and the Lamb as the first-fruits of mankind. Falsehood was not found on their lips; they stand there untainted before the throne of God" (Apoc. 15, 105).



### ***Cure for Juvenile Delinquency***

"I wish you every success in your hearings on juvenile delinquency. If you want my opinion—which you did not request but which I gladly volunteer—the best cure is for the mamas and papas to stay at home and raise their families. The responsibility of bringing up the next generation rests squarely on their shoulders. I do not believe in baby-sitters, or sending children to boarding schools just because the parents are too lazy to look after them. Besides, children nowadays have too many gadgets to fool with and not enough chores."—*From a letter dated July 19, 1955, of former President Harry S. Truman to Senator Kefauver, Chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Juvenile Delinquency.*

# Education—and All That

JOHN COGLEY

*Reprinted from the COMMONWEAL\**

**A**BOUT a year ago Christopher Dawson contributed an article to the *Commonweal* that set off a running discussion in Catholic educational circles. Mr. Dawson wrote about the future of Christian culture. He suggested making the study of that specifically Christian culture which once characterized the West the core of Catholic education in this country.

The article was enthusiastically received and the idea put forth in it has aroused increasing interest. Both *America* and the *Commonweal* have published other articles and correspondence on the subject since the original appeared. Mr. Dawson himself has expanded on his theme and answered certain professional criticism.

When such experts deal with a matter, the amateur should hesitate to enter, but one of the pleasures of having a column like this is that you can rush in where angels fear to tread.

I received what I suppose could be called a standard liberal-arts,

Jesuit-type education. It began during high-school years. The first uneasy bouts with Latin and Greek got it under way and it moved with more or less logic to a final philosophy course in the university. (Later I topped it off in Europe, under the Dominicans, with some theology, but that was a break which few laymen get.) I think there were many things wrong with the education I got, but so far I have not envied anyone else's.

The kind of education I got went a long way toward answering the fundamental questions which bedevil all of us: who am I, what am I, where did I come from, and where am I now? In a word it is the kind of education that helps one locate himself—in the universe, in history and in the contemporary world.

Once those basic questions are answered, one is more or less ready for anything. It seems to me that the most one can ask from formal education is to learn how to take things in stride, and it is for this very reason that I envy no one else

\*386 Fourth Ave., New York 16, N. Y., April 29, 1955

his education. Ideally, the kind of education I was exposed to catholicizes the student. (I use the word with a small *c*. How well we were Christianized is altogether another matter, dependent on many other factors.)

### NO ALIEN TRUTHS

When a man is catholicized, what he learns after school years are over is mainly a matter of putting the pieces in their proper place. This is easily said but it entails bitter effort and lifelong application. He is daily confronted with the problem of integrating what he newly learns to be true with what he has long known to be true. For the abiding core of his belief is the simple proposition that truth is of a piece. A man seeking an education will be forever in pursuit.

With the kind of schooling I received, I do not feel, for instance, that I can reject what is good and true in Marx, Freud, Einstein or anyone else. There are alien systems but there are no alien truths.

We all arrive in the world at a particular point in history. Everything that went ahead, good and bad alike, produced this world, the only world open to our experience. Ours is not of course a Christian age in the Dawson sense. But I wonder if there was ever a Christian age in any valid sense. There were times when more men were Christians than to-

day and when the Church had more influence. These circumstances went to produce a culture that was more restfully Christian than ours, certainly. But who is to say that a natural insight of Thomas Aquinas is more Christian than an insight of Sigmund Freud, provided both are true? Integration was certainly more easily come by in the age of Aquinas than in this day of shattered truths, but because integration is easier, is it therefore more splendid? We can learn more about man in this day and, yes, even more about God than Aquinas could know. (Theology did not die with Aquinas but expanded its frontiers.)

I take it that the Christian man, culturally speaking, is the integrated believer, not born out of time, sodden with nostalgia for another era, but a man of his own time and place. Today that means a man with the Middle Ages, the Renaissance, the Reformation, the rise of Democracy and the Industrial Revolution behind him and with the Age of the Atom ahead of him.

Education cannot integrate a man; it can only give him the tools of integration—abiding theological and philosophical principles, a knowledge of the past and the ability to use his mind to create a total idea of existence and fit each piece of new knowledge into it. This I think the present Jesuit-type system practised in so many American Catholic

colleges can do with marked success. From the Latin class, where the unschooled youth first learn that all Gaul is divided into three parts, to the final Modern Philosophers course, there is rhyme and reason to the system. Its success depends on the individual's ability to relate the present to the past, the new truth with the old, the untried with the time-tested.

Integration comes hard. Some grow discouraged and simply cling blindly to the past, rejecting the modern world as the work of the Devil and the past as the pure ac-

complishment of God. Others may grow lazy and retreat into negation and cozy parochialism. Others seem to miss the whole point and adopt a Catholic-ready-answer approach.

The present system undoubtedly can produce bigotry rather than calm sureness, narrowmindedness rather than receptivity, a prideful dogmatism rather than the humility of a constant seeking after knowledge and it can be pretty dreadful when it miscarries, as all the world knows. But I think that at its best it is pretty wonderful. We fail it; it doesn't fail us.



### *Misery Amid Plenty*

Too many human beings, too many families and peoples have still not benefited from this progress of civilization. Misery continues to reign over vast territories, multiplying innocent victims. Even in those regions where technical progress has produced an abundance of economic goods, bad organization, unequal distribution of riches and an ignorance of the existence of the moral law above the interests of individuals and of communities have kept an often considerable section of the people in a state of isolation, of insecurity, of want, of real distress. Thus, in the midst of full industrial activity, the proletarian condition has been brought about whereby an increasing number of families are enclosed in a sociological prison.

On this grave problem the Catholic Church has for long made clear her views. She judges this condition incompatible with Christian principles, and intolerable for those who acknowledge the respect and dignity due to the human person.—*Statement of the French Hierarchy, April 28, 1954.*



# Labor and the General Welfare

VERY REV. MSCR. GEORGE G. HIGGINS

*Director, Social Action Department, NCWC*

*Address to the 12th annual conference of Local 688, International Brotherhood of Teamsters, St. Louis, Mo., January 30, 1955*

**L**OCAL 688 of the Teamsters International is one of the best known local unions in the United States. This is due principally to its active participation in community affairs, its almost unprecedented success in promoting membership participation at the grass-roots level, and the high degree of responsibility assumed by the rank-and-file membership. I ask you to accept my congratulations on the good work that you are doing and my prayerful best wishes for the continued success of your highly original program.

As an outsider unfamiliar with the specific problems of your union and your industry, I am not qualified to discuss your program or your problems in specific detail. Accordingly, I will confine myself more or less to some general observations of an ethical nature on the general subject of "Labor and the General Welfare," with all that that implies in terms of union responsibility and rank-and-file participa-

tion in local union affairs. I will also have a few things to say, in conclusion, about certain legislative and general economic problems which are of concern not only to Local 688, but to all other unions as well and, indeed, to the nation as a whole.

First, a few remarks about the unique importance of the local union in the over-all structure of the American labor movement.

Hundreds of scholarly volumes have been published during the past fifty years on various national or international unions, hundreds more on the philosophy and the program of the American labor movement as a whole. Oddly enough, however, we had to wait until the middle of 1953 for the publication of the first full-length study of the role of the local union in the industrial life of America—in spite of the obvious fact that the local is the basic unit and the ultimate source of power in the labor movement as a whole.

Leonard R. Sayles and George

Strauss, the authors of this important study (*The Local Union—Its Place in the Industrial Plant*), have opened up a field of research which may eventually yield the answers to some of the unsolved problems in the field of labor relations. The local union, in contrast to the international, "is closer to the worker and his job." The more we learn about the nature and the function of the local, the better chance we have of understanding the labor movement as a whole and of solving the overall problem of industrial relations.

#### RANK-AND-FILE APATHY

From the viewpoint of Christian social ethics, perhaps the most interesting chapter in this pioneer analysis of twenty representative local unions is the one dealing with the attitude of the rank and file toward their local union and its elected officers. The importance of this subject can hardly be exaggerated. For if it be true that the health of the whole labor movement is forged in the councils of its thousands of affiliated locals, intelligent rank-and-file participation in local union affairs is almost a matter of life or death for the movement as a whole.

The seriousness of this problem is suggested by the findings of Sayles and Strauss in their chapter entitled, "The Rank and File View Their Union." The major con-

clusions of this particular chapter can be summarized, very inadequately, as follows: "The overwhelming majority" of the rank and file are "sold" on their local union as a protective organization. They willingly support its economic activities as useful and necessary and almost unanimously agree that "without a union we would be lost." On the other hand, a large percentage of the rank and file—perhaps the majority—has no "emotional identification" with the union and its goals. Many of them regard their union as a sort of slot machine in which you insert your monthly dues with the hope that something may come out.

Most of the union members interviewed by Sayles and Strauss were rather cynical about their officers' motives in seeking union leadership—cynical, too, about the financial integrity of their officers and critical of their competence. However, very few of those interviewed were willing to accept the onerous responsibility of union leadership. They were perfectly willing to "let George do it."

More encouraging is the authors' conclusion that the average rank-and-filer has a guilty conscience about his failure to take a more active interest in union affairs. He still has a feeling of responsibility toward his local union. For the good of the labor movement and

for the common good of the nation as a whole, it is highly important that this dormant sense of social responsibility be aroused and translated into action.

Newspapers and other media of information can help to solve this problem by engendering an attitude of respect for *bona fide* trade unionism, instead of harping away on the old theme—as so many of them have done in the past—that unions are an un-American racket. Teachers and school administrators also can make a contribution by impressing upon the young people of America the all-important fact that political democracy will ultimately flounder and collapse unless it is built upon the solid foundation of economic democracy from the local to the national level. (“Lacking a sense of participation in economic society,” Professor Robert Misbet of the University of California reminds us in a recent book, “men will seek it, as Hilaire Belloc told us, in the Servile State.”)

#### CODE OF HONESTY

And last but not least, the local union itself can help to eliminate the problem of rank-and-file apathy and indifference by developing a better program of labor education, by addressing itself to new problems which the rank-and-file membership can help to solve, and by insisting upon a rigid code of honesty and

financial integrity on the part of its elected and appointed officials.

This problem of honesty in the trade-union movement is not as serious as some of labor's critics make it out to be. Nevertheless, I would be less than honest myself—and I would be an enemy rather than a friend of the labor movement—if I were to pretend that the problem doesn't exist. You know and I know that it does exist to an alarming degree, particularly in the administration of certain welfare funds. We know, too, that, in some cases at least, the union or unions involved have failed to take the necessary steps to correct the situation. I am not a prophet, but I think that David Dubinsky of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union was deadright when he said a few months ago in the official AFL monthly journal that “public report of abuses in some union welfare funds . . . makes legislative intervention more and more likely, and perhaps inevitable.”

Mr. Dubinsky did not say—and neither do I—that corrective legislation is desirable. He did say, however—and I agree with him completely—that “if there are structural barriers or an unwillingness within some unions, making needed controls impossible or unlikely, then it seems to me that the trade union movement will have to support some measure of legislative action to pro-

tect union members and their families against abuse of welfare funds."

### ETHICAL RESPONSIBILITIES

Whether or not corrective or remedial legislation will be necessary remains to be seen, but, as a friend and supporter of the labor movement, I will tell you very frankly that, if legislation is to be avoided, the guilty unions, wherever they may be, will have to quit stalling, quit "fooling around," as we say in the vernacular, and face up realistically and uncompromisingly to their ethical responsibilities. It will not do any good to try to divert attention from labor's sins by pointing to the sins of business and other groups of society, nor will it help the situation any to accuse the critics of labor of having a double standard of morality—one for labor leaders and another for businessmen and politicians. To a certain extent, some of labor's critics do have a double standard of morality with regard to financial integrity, but this, in its own peculiar way, is a compliment to the labor movement, which prides itself, and rightly so, on its tradition of ethical idealism.

In this connection, it ought to be said that a labor leader who steals money from a welfare fund or makes a "deal" with a dishonest employer is not merely guilty of

theft; he is guilty of "selling out" the people whom he has been elected to represent. His personal dishonesty is compounded with the greater evil of hypocrisy and disloyalty to the fine traditions of a movement which claims to be, and is rightly expected to be, more honest and more idealistic than the average run of secular organizations.

Thanks be to God, the number of racketeers and hypocrites in the labor movement is relatively small, but even one is one too many. I hope and pray, then, that every local union in the United States, following the leadership of the National AFL and the national CIO—both of which have taken a vigorous stand against corruption and dishonesty within the ranks of labor—will examine its own conscience and its own financial books and, if it finds any irregularities therein, will be ruthless in eliminating them as soon as possible. Time is of the essence, for the hard-won reputation of the American labor movement, which was established at great personal sacrifice by our forebears, is at stake right now.

It ought to be emphasized at this point that this problem is basically an ethical problem. The same thing can be said about the problem of rank-and-file participation in local union affairs and the related and equally serious problem of citizen participation in the political life of

the  
basic  
This  
ing t  
stitut  
organ  
will  
very  
are c  
oblig  
assur  
for t  
tions  
point  
Justi  
trad  
part  
to a

T  
Bish  
time  
char  
point  
Life  
ple  
whi  
gov  
poli  
ing  
prin  
suff

V  
tral  
of  
par  
ass  
and

the United States. These are all basically ethical or moral problems. This is merely another way of saying that a revision of a union constitution or technical changes in the organizational structure of a union will not, of themselves, accomplish very much unless the rank and file are convinced that they have a moral obligation, in justice and charity, to assume their share of responsibility for the policies of these organizations. As the Bishops of Australia pointed out in their 1950 Social Justice Statement, no man may trade his conscience to a political party or a labor union or, indeed, to any other organization.

### THE MORAL LAW

This statement of the Australian Bishops, who are famous by this time for calling a spade a spade, is characteristically timely and to the point. Entitled "Morality in Public Life," the statement warns the people of Australia that organizations which often are more powerful than governments themselves, and whose policies are dictated by men denying the moral law, are one of the principal causes of today's mass suffering.

Without fear or favor the Australian Bishops remind the members of all organizations alike—political parties, trade unions, employers' associations, farmers' organizations and the like—that "no man may

trade his conscience to any political party or to any secular organization." Granted, they say, that a just objective of all such organizations is to advance the interests of that part of the community which they represent, their dominant aim must always be to seek the common good, the public welfare and the interests of the community as a whole. "It is upon the moral conduct of men and women, in relation to these organized bodies, that the well-being or the suffering of mankind largely depends," the statement adds.

The full text of the statement is just as applicable to the United States as it is to the land "down under." Let us hope that it will be studied carefully (and prayerfully) by the leaders and, perhaps even more important, by the rank-and-file members of all our political and economic organizations.

It is interesting to note in passing that as far back as 1945 a well known non-Catholic economist—Kenneth Boulding of Michigan—anticipated the pastoral of the Australian Bishops. His essay on "Politics and Morals" is one of which the present writer would have been happy to have been the author.

Boulding's conclusions—the last few sentences of a book entitled *The Economics of Peace*—are so beautifully phrased and so closely parallel both the letter and the spirit of the Australian statement as to

merit being quoted here for the record:

... a society organized into selfish groups desperately needs the cement of responsible behavior. This is partly because groups can injure each other, and injure society, more than individuals can. Partly, also, it is because men as representatives of a group are much less moral than as selfish individuals. Men will lie, cheat, steal and kill for their country, their class, their trade union, their business—even for their church—with a single-mindedness of evil intent that they would never achieve as individuals. In our days more than ever, then, when the individualistic society of a generation ago is being replaced by a highly collectivized society, organized into labor unions, employers' associations, corporations, and the like, it is necessary to develop on the part of individuals and on the part of these member-groups a sense of responsibility for the welfare of all.

Secularism, which has been defined as the practical exclusion of God from human thinking and living, is all too common in all too many phases of our social, political and cultural life. But before we jump to the conclusion that the country has gone to pot completely, let's remember that the number of Kenneth Bouldings is on the increase.

Boulding's emphasis on the necessity of "responsible behavior," which is elaborated upon at considerably greater length and in greater detail by the Bishops of Australia, is very well taken in-

deed. But a couple of footnotes are in order.

First of all, neither Boulding nor the Australian pastoral is suggesting for a moment that organizations as such are to be discouraged. Quite the contrary. Both take it for granted that organization is absolutely necessary—particularly in highly developed and very complex societies such as Australia and the United States—as the normal means through which men and women of good-will are to exercise their social responsibilities. They merely remind us—to quote the Australian statement—that "organizations, as such, have no life" and are "incapable of conscious choice." Responsibility for organizational policies rests, therefore, on the leaders of these groups and also, although in a different way, on their ordinary members, who either choose the leaders or, by their apathy, allow the leaders to assume control. All this is obvious enough in theory, but all too often is forgotten in practice.

Secondly, it would be a mistake to conclude that a reform of personal morals is alone sufficient for the reconstruction of the social order. Almost as important in its own way are certain "structural" or "institutional" reforms, as they are referred to in the social encyclicals and in other official sum-

marie  
Th  
that  
fine  
limit  
orga  
level  
as I  
lem  
Fede  
econ  
dust  
as w

F  
of I  
T  
the  
194  
fiel  
ing  
lev  
mo  
im  
ton  
An  
tal  
so-  
is

op  
"r  
th  
ye  
be  
la  
"M  
ly  
th

maries of Catholic social teaching.

This means, among other things, that you should not, must not, confine your attention exclusively to the limited opportunities of your own organization at the purely local level. You must also be concerned—as I know you are—with the problem of legislation, both State and Federal, and with the problem of economic reconstruction and industrial democracy at the national as well as the local or regional level.

#### LABOR LEGISLATION

First, a word about the problem of legislation.

This year, for the first time since the Taft-Hartley Act was enacted in 1947, the center of attention in the field of labor legislation is shifting from the Federal to the State level. The big guns of the labor movement will be directed, for the immediate future, not at Washington, but at Jefferson City, Missouri, Annapolis, Maryland, and the capitals of several other cities in which so-called "right-to-work" legislation is the burning political issue. The opposition of Catholic spokesmen to "right-to-work" legislation first hit the headlines in a dramatic way last year while the Louisiana law was being debated in Baton Rouge. This law, like all of the other so-called "right-to-work" laws, unconditionally prohibits the union shop. For this reason, among others, it was

vigorously opposed by Archbishop Rummel of New Orleans. In taking this position, was the Archbishop merely expressing a personal political opinion—as some of his critics have charged—or was he reflecting the general Catholic point of view with reference to the morality of the union shop? Has the American Hierarchy said anything officially about this subject? What about American theologians?

To the best of our knowledge, neither the general body of American Bishops nor the Administrative Board of the National Catholic Welfare Conference has ever issued an official statement bearing directly on the union shop. The reason for this is that the morality of the union shop has hardly ever been called into question by competent spokesmen for the Catholic point of view. American theologians and American Catholic experts in the field of labor relations are almost unanimously agreed that the union shop is morally legitimate. Their reasoning is adequately summarized in an article by the late Monsignor John A. Ryan, "Moral Aspects of Labor Unions," in the *Catholic Encyclopedia*.

Another useful summary of the Catholic point of view with reference to union security is to be found in a Catholic University of America doctoral dissertation entitled *The Closed Shop*. This dissertation was

written by Father Jerome Toner, O.S.B., of St. Martín's College, Olympia, Washington, under the direction of Monsignor Ryan and the late Bishop Haas. The following excerpt from Father Toner's dissertation will make it clear that Archbishop Rummel was reflecting the general Catholic point of view when he defended the morality of the union shop:

The teachings of the Popes and their interpretation and application for American industry by the Archbishops and Bishops lend substantial although not specific endorsement to the Closed Shop. Nowhere is it named as an evil to be condemned. It receives indirect approval in the papal idealization of the ancient guilds which were voluntary or free associations in respect to membership—that is, they were “open” so that a worker was free to join or not to join—but compulsory or “closed” in regard to trade or craft; that is, no one who was not a member of the guild could work at a trade or craft.

Father Toner is concerned primarily with the closed shop. It is obvious, however, that what he says in favor of the closed shop applies even more strongly to the union shop, which is, relatively speaking, a milder form of union security.

#### NECESSITY OF TRADE UNIONS

Father Toner might have added that while the official statements of the American hierarchy do not lend “specific endorsement” to the closed or union shop, they do lend strong

support to the proposition that all workers should be organized into trade unions. In other words, the American Bishops emphasize that trade unionism is not only legitimate, but desirable and necessary. The following excerpts from official statements of the American hierarchy are particularly relevant in this connection:

“Capital and labor should work for the common welfare and for their mutual interest should encourage all workers to organize” (Statement of the Administrative Committee, NCWC, April 12, 1934). “Christian social principles . . . call insistently for cooperation not conflict. . . Cooperation must be organized—organized for the common good. . .” (Statement of the Bishops of the United States, 1948, *The Christian in Action*).

A more recent Pastoral Letter of the Hierarchy of French Canada goes even further in emphasizing the necessity of trade unionism:

To fulfill the role which is theirs in the national economy, to promote their professional interests, to realize their legitimate economic and social claims, the workers ought to unite in solid professional organizations. The Church, since Leo XIII, of immortal memory, has proclaimed the *right* of the workers “to unite in associations for the promotion of their interests.”

Present circumstances render still more pressing and imperious the obligation of the workers, as also of the employers, to exercise that right.



If workers are said to have the duty to organize, it does not necessarily follow therefrom that the union shop is morally legitimate. It will be apparent, however, that there is a marked difference between the attitude of the average opponent of the union shop and that of the majority of commentators on the social encyclicals as to the desirability of trade unionism. The average opponent of the union shop and the average proponent of so-called "right-to-work" legislation regard the decision (to organize or not to organize) as a purely individual decision on the part of the individual workers. By contrast, the American Bishops, the Canadian Bishops and the majority of American students of Catholic social teaching place their emphasis on the social responsibility of individual workers to contribute to the common good by organizing with their fellow workers.

There isn't time to say any more this evening about the subject of labor legislation. It will be enough to add, in passing, that I wish you well in your own campaign to defeat the "right-to-work" bill which is now pending in the Missouri Legislature. You are on the side of the angels in this fight. Keep it up—and good luck to you.

Secondly, I have said that your organization and every other union must be concerned with the prob-

lem of economic reconstruction above and beyond the limits of your own jurisdiction. Let me approach the subject, if I may, in a rather round-about way by commenting briefly on something that was said about it recently by two well-known American columnists, Westbrook Pegler and Dorothy Thompson.

### RESTRICTING UNIONS

During the week of January 16, as coincidence would have it, these two nationally syndicated columnists, who are seldom found on the same side of the political street, unexpectedly agreed with one another that something ought to be done to cut the American labor movement down to size. Not unexpectedly, Mr. Pegler's diagnosis of the ills of American trade unionism and his prescription for their remedy were more extreme than Miss Thompson's. Extreme is hardly the word for it. Mr. Pegler seems to be opposed to the very idea of trade unionism as a matter of principle. He has very little taste and even less facility for making distinctions between good, bad and indifferent unions and union leaders. To his way of thinking, all unions are bad, not only in practice but in theory as well, and presumably he will never be happy until they all go out—or are driven out—of existence. "Unionism," he says—in a generalization to which

a really good reporter would have been ashamed to sign his name—"is still a predatory racket, absolutely hostile to the constitutional guarantees and to human dignity and freedom."

It comes as no surprise, at this late date, that Mr. Pegler should make a statement like this for the umpteenth time. This is the sort of thing we have come to expect from him and, since there is nothing that can be done about it, there is no point in getting excited about the matter.

On the other hand, it does come as a mild surprise to find Dorothy Thompson edging up, however guardedly, to a conclusion which is disappointingly close to Mr. Pegler's thesis. Unlike Mr. Pegler, Miss Thompson is not opposed to unions as a matter of principle. On the contrary, she believes that, when they were established, they were a necessary and inevitable means of defending working people against the injustices then prevailing in our economic system. She makes this point very forcefully, indeed.

Presumably Miss Thompson is still in favor of unions at the present time. But in the second half of her column she unexpectedly suggests that the function of unions—all unions, apparently, good, bad and indifferent—ought to be drastically curtailed. How, she does not say. Perhaps she will return to this

point in another column. If so, she ought to ask herself, and tell her readers, how we the people of a free country can drastically curtail the functions of the American labor movement without slipping into some form of totalitarianism. Her answer to this question would be extremely interesting, for she is justly acknowledged to be an expert on the subject of totalitarianism.

Meanwhile Miss Thompson does tell us "why," in her opinion, the function of unions ought to be drastically reduced. She gives two reasons. One is that union leaders at the present time "often" exercise "arbitrary power." It would have been more accurate to say that "some" labor leaders sometimes exercise arbitrary power and that they sometimes do so in collusion with "some" employers. And then having said this—and having condemned these individuals as they deserve to be condemned—it would have been more logical, it seems to me, to suggest a remedy less extreme than the drastic curtailment of the function of unions.

The extent or the scope of union functions is not the cause of the specific evil which Miss Thompson is hoping to remedy. On the contrary, there is good reason to believe that if unions were given more functions to perform, they and their leaders would become more rather

than less responsible, more rather than less concerned with the general welfare.

This is the prevailing, though not, of course, the unanimous opinion among experts in the field of industrial relations, and particularly, it would seem, among the Catholic scholars who have written on the subject.

### MISINTERPRETS THE FACTS

Miss Thompson's second reason for recommending that the function of unions be drastically curtailed is even less convincing than her first reason. Her second reason is that the labor movement, which originated as a weapon of defense against the injustices of old-fashioned capitalism, "still bears the marks of its origin" and is still imbued with the philosophy of class conflict. "Its spirit," Miss Thompson says, "is still directed in large measure against 'capitalism' even though the interests of workers and their leaders are involved in its maintenance. It still envisages 'the workers' as a class apart from the rest of society. It has a vested interest in maintaining the existence of the 'proletariat' instead of seeking its abolition."

This opinion cannot be refuted by the present speaker—any more than it can be proved by Miss Thompson—within the short space of a few paragraphs. We would

merely say, therefore, that, to the best of our knowledge, there are few if any students of industrial and labor relations in the United States who would agree with it. On the contrary, it is our opinion, based on extensive reading in the field and innumerable personal interviews, that the majority of the experts would reject it summarily as a serious, not to say a dangerous misinterpretation of the facts of industrial life in the United States.

But suppose, for the sake of the argument, that Miss Thompson is right and the experts are wrong about the character or the philosophy of contemporary American unions. Suppose, in other words, that American unions are really committed (as they are not, in our opinion) to the philosophy of class conflict. This, it seems to us, would be an added argument in favor of widening, rather than restricting, the extent or the scope of their functions. Miss Thompson's recommendation—the drastic curtailment of their functions—could only be expected to make them even more anti-capitalist, more class-conscious, more opposed to industrial progress than they are mistakenly alleged to be at the present time.

It seems to me, then, that the very opposite formula—namely, widening and extending the scope of union functions and the scope of collective bargaining—is the best,

if not the only means of establishing a full-fledged program of industrial democracy under a system of private ownership. Let me expand upon that point very briefly.

### COMMON GOOD OF SOCIETY

Organization is not an end in itself. It is a means toward arriving at the common good of society—a means which is almost as natural to man as breathing and almost as necessary for his temporal welfare. This principle is as basic and as elementary as the abc's, but I think that many of you will agree with me that we are sometimes inclined to overlook it in the restless confusion of our daily round of work. We sometimes find it difficult to see the forest for the trees. We sometimes forget that unions—and similar associations of farmers, employers and professional people—are the natural means through which, and through which alone, we can successfully cooperate with our fellow men for the good of economic society as a whole.

Our economic organizations, in other words, are not established exclusively for the defense or the protection of our own particular interests or our own particular rights, although obviously this is one of their purposes and a very important one at that. But they are organized primarily as a means through which we are enabled to cooperate with

the other organized elements in the economy to bring about a happier and a more truly human life for all our people.

What I am suggesting, among other things, is that the traditional concept of collective bargaining as we have come to know it in the United States—which is a good thing and a necessary thing as far as it goes—is no longer sufficient. We will have to broaden our horizon and strive manfully, if only by degrees, for the establishment of a fully-developed system of labor-management cooperation in which labor will be accepted, within reasonable limits, as a partner with management in cooperatively directing our system of private enterprise toward the common good or the general welfare of all our people.

I urge you to keep looking ahead toward this objective.

There is admittedly a certain element of danger in expanding the scope of labor-management cooperation, as our good friend Abe Raskin of the *New York Times* pointed out in a characteristically objective article in a recent issue of the scholarly Jewish monthly, *Commentary*. Mr. Raskin has performed a useful public service in calling attention to "the ominous possibility that our great power aggregations of labor and industry are moving in the direction of colla-

sive  
theor  
most  
for t  
effect  
sume  
says  
ful an  
Publ  
how,  
make  
firms  
relat  
with  
road  
whic  
tivity  
ards  
empl  
acco  
coul  
"ma  
gove  
that  
geth  
I  
the  
man  
han  
stat  
O  
a n  
men  
coo  
guin  
a n  
fare  
a n  
legi

sive arrangements, based on the theory that they exist to make the most advantageous business deals for themselves, regardless of the effects of such deals on the consumer." Nevertheless, as Mr. Raskin says in concluding his very thoughtful article entitled, "*Unions and the Public Interest*," "somewhere, somehow, someone is going to have to make a start toward building affirmative membership support for relationships that are cooperative without being collusive. That is the road to a fruitful, free economy in which the benefits of rising productivity are applied to higher standards for consumers, workers and employers alike." The alternative, according to Mr. Raskin—and I couldn't agree with him more—"may be an economy in which the government makes all decisions. In that kind of economy, all of us together stand to lose our freedom."

I am confident that we can avoid the dangers of irresponsible labor-management collusion on the one hand and the related danger of statism on the other.

Obviously there will have to be a necessary minimum of government assistance and government cooperation and even government guidance, and there will have to be a necessary minimum of social-welfare legislation. I do not mean for a moment to underestimate the legitimate function of government

in the reconstruction of the social order. At the same time, however, I would emphasize the fact that government must never be permitted to dominate or control the democratic deliberations of free men cooperating for the common good in and through their freely-established organizations. Fascism is not the alternative to excessive individualism. Neither is Communism.

### ECONOMIC DEMOCRACY

The alternative, to which you subscribe as free Americans, ever conscious of your God-given dignity, is a program of economic democracy based on the philosophy of voluntarism properly understood and adequately adjusted to the needs of our highly complicated economic system. As an invited guest to your convention, I trust that I may be permitted to express the earnest hope that you will continue to support this philosophy and that you will try your best, as the years go on, to implement it in the daily practice of the American economy. By so doing, you will merit the gratitude of your children and your children's children, to whom we are obligated to bequeath a better economic system than the one which we have inherited from our forefathers.

There are only two other points which I should wish to mention in conclusion.

First of all, I cannot take leave of this convention without congratulating you most sincerely on everything that you have already done and on the things that you plan to do to safeguard the rights and to promote the welfare of the American Negro, both within the ranks of your own organization and within American society as a whole. May God bless you for your spirit of brotherhood—which is a much bigger and a much better thing than simple tolerance—and may Christ, our Brother, give all of us the grace to live together and to work together in justice and in perfect charity.

Secondly, I ask you to accept my congratulations, as a fellow citizen of the United States, on the contribution which your great organization, as a constituent member of the AFL, is making toward the reconstruction of Europe and of Asia and toward the establishment of effective democratic cooperation among the legitimate labor unions of the world. I will not go into detail about organized labor's important accomplishments in the field of international affairs. Suffice it to say that labor's undivided loyalty to its own government, its vigorous condemnation of political persecution, and its intelligent participation in the Marshall Plan and in similar efforts at reconstruction are an added source of strength to

democracy at a time when democracy desperately needs the very last ounce of strength that each of us can contribute. Your fellow Americans—and, above all, the men and women of less fortunate countries who are struggling against such tremendous odds to preserve their basic freedoms—are grateful to you for your aggressive leadership in this important field.

May God bless all of you and those who are near and dear to you. May He give you great confidence in the worthiness of the cause to which you are devoting your lives, but may He also give you the honesty to face up to the imperfections and the faults of your organization, wherever you may find them, and the courage to correct them of your own volition. May He give you the manly gift of fortitude in times of adversity and the saving grace of humility in moments of success. May He bless our beloved country and, above all, help it to be generous in fulfilling its enormous responsibilities to less fortunate peoples of the world. These and the other blessings of which we stand in need we ask in the name of Jesus Christ, our Brother, who was pleased to be known as the foster-son of a carpenter and Who was Himself a humble workman in the tiny village of Nazareth in Galilee.

# Estimate of Hemingway

DR. RALPH A. KLINEFELTER  
*Duquesne University*

*Reprinted from the PITTSBURGH CATHOLIC\**

**C**HAMPIONS of the "new form" in arts and letters leave me cold. Now I am not so conservative as was Charles Lamb, who confessed: "Everytime a new book comes out I read an old one." But I do rebel loudly when distortion is paraded as "art" and "vacuity" is praised as "literature."

These "moderns" remind me of the American who stood in St. Mark Square, Venice. To a fellow-tourist's remark about the beauty of the great cathedral, he rejoined: "Yes, but it's so old-fashioned!"

This subject fell into sharp focus last fall when Ernest Hemingway was singled out for the Nobel Prize in Literature for 1954. At the insistence of a few friends I re-read Hemingway in an attempt to reach a fair and objective appraisal of his worth as a novelist.

Over a period of two months I read again everything Hemingway penned, beginning with his first two financial failures, *In Our Time*, and *Torrents of Spring*, and his first

"click," *The Sun Also Rises*. Eleven volumes, hundreds of pages and thousands of words later, I laid down *The Old Man and the Sea* and set myself to the task of evaluation.

Along the way I had met once more Hemingway's "frustrated heroes": Lt. Henry of *A Farewell to Arms*; Harry Morgan, the rum-runner in *To Have and Have Not*; Robert Jordan, bridge bomber of *For Whom the Bell Tolls*; the war-scarred Col. Cantwell of *Across the River and Into the Trees*, and the luckless Santiago of *The Old Man and the Sea*.

I believe you say the first and the last word in praise of Ernest Hemingway when you state that the man has few equals in his mastery of the written word. His style is simple, easy, casual to the point of being careless. There are no loose adjectives in Hemingway, no emotional gushing.

Like so many American writers since 1900, Hemingway learned his

\* 206 Keystone Bldg., Pittsburgh 22, Pa., June 2, 1955

craft on the pages of the newspaper. Years of reporting and war correspondence gave him skill in crisp, clear prose, free of clichés, with the smallest and simplest words.

### ARTISTRY REACHES PEAK

Though this artistry in style has been a Hemingway trade-mark since his first writings, it reached its highest point in *The Old Man and the Sea*. Here is the perfection of the prose style he has given to American letters. As Hemingway said of the book: "It's as though I had gotten finally what I had been working for all my life."

The wire announcing Hemingway's Nobel Award read: "For his powerful, style-forming mastery of the art of narration, as most recently evinced in *The Old Man and the Sea*."

Beyond Hemingway's writing skills there is sawdust. I think the man has spelled his doom by an obsession with contemporary themes and by omitting from his writings all concept of universal or absolute values.

You will notice that each of his books is tied in closely with an incident in history. For example, *The Sun Also Rises* describes the Lost Generation, those American young men and women who languished in European capitals after World War I; *A Farewell to Arms*

is about World War I; *For Whom the Bell Tolls* describes the Spanish Civil War; *Across the River and Into the Trees* is laid in World War II Vienna, and *To Have and Have Not* centers about Prohibition and the Depression era.

Hemingway's aim seems to be the examination of men and women in a particular situation. This explains in effect his pre-occupation with war. He himself has taken part in five wars and sees, in the physical impact of war, man face to face with brutality, suffering, death. There is for Hemingway no fascination in war, in glory, no heroism beyond stark, physical endurance. As he says in *A Farewell to Arms*: "I saw how their minds worked; if they had minds and if they worked. They were all young men and they were saving their country."

Hemingway is dedicated to the belief that life is too big for man to understand or to grasp as a whole. Therefore, each of his heroes slices out a small portion of life and consumes it to the hilt, unmindful of any larger "meaning" in life beyond the mere physical experience.

His philosophy can be summed up: "Enjoy your emotional excitements while you may, take it on the chin when your turn comes and die fighting with your boots on."

Asked to say something about his

them  
ways  
and i  
ance  
imm  
of th  
tics."

He  
war,  
trati  
natu  
pora  
Pass  
doim  
and  
with  
or r

In  
a sl  
a F  
Cal  
the

T  
sol  
"ne  
ide  
has  
ph  
fo  
up

ig  
he  
on  
he  
he  
In  
ac  
n



themes, he replied: "They have always been love, lack of it, death and its occasional temporary avoidance which we describe as life, the immortality or lack of immortality of the soul, money, honor and politics."

Hemingway's writings deal with war, the Lost Generation, sex, frustration, death. Thus he follows the naturalistic patterns of his contemporaries—Dreiser, Faulkner, Dos Passos, Steinbeck, O'Hara. In so doing he emphasizes the appetites and aspirations of the natural man, with a denial of the supernatural or metaphysical.

In one of Hemingway's works, a slight play called *Today is Friday*, a Roman soldier says of Jesus on Calvary: "He was pretty good in there today."

To the naturalist there are no absolute values in life; there are only "neutral" values. There are no ideals, no principles. Only reality has existence. People, things, physical expressions, excitement, food, pleasure—these alone make up life.

Hemingway chooses at best to ignore a Divine Creator; at worst he blasphemes the suggestion. In one of his early unprintable poems he wrote: "The Lord is my shepherd, I shall not want him for long." In one of his novels he has a character say: "Hail full of nothing, nothing is with thee."

One example of this is seen in *The Sun Also Rises* where Brett, who has left off being the mistress of Romero, confesses that the renunciation has made her "feel good." She decides, "It's sort of what we have instead of God."

Unconsciously, I found that the end of each Hemingway novel left me unsatisfied. There was no sense of fulfillment or completion. This is because it is the "smart thing" today to accept as "objective attitudes" in creative art a vagueness as to meanings or values in art.

It stems, I think, from the emphasis in modern philosophy on governing reality by thought. Things are not what they are; things are what you think they are.

#### MAN BECOMES MORTAL BODY

Private judgment, having made its inroads in theological matters, has pushed its way into all fields. Thus God, man, the soul, immortality, once realities, have become ideas in the mind and leaves in a storm, mere accidents. Man is no longer a creature suspended between good and evil, with the temporal rewards of misconduct hanging in one balance and eternal reward or punishment in the other. Man has become for the modern writer, for Hemingway particularly, a mortal body with sensory reflexes.

Interestingly enough, Gertrude Stein influenced the work of Pablo

Picasso and Ernest Hemingway. Picasso learned from her the practice of camouflaging shapes with ugly, distorted lines and violent splashes of color. Hemingway, seeking to distort true human relationships, smears his novels with huge blotches of profanity and obscenity.

I hold it true that to fill a novel full of moral "nothingness," of "neutral values," is to destroy the novel as a work of art. Art cannot exist for itself alone, despite the cries of modern critics to the contrary. By its nature, art must appeal to something outside itself. Just as "No man is an island," according to John Donne, so a work of art reaches beyond itself for appreciation and for service.

The painter who gives us a canvas, the sculptor who fashions a statue, the novelist who writes a book must, as Thomas Aquinas tells us, give us a work with integrity, proportion and splendor. It is not fair for Hemingway to shirk responsibility, as he does in saying: "What I had to do was work. I did not care particularly how it came out."

The artist can no more shrug away responsibility for the work he has created than the parent can shirk responsibility for his child and its future.

In Hemingway sensation and shock have taken the place of true emotional response and caricatures replace living men and women. It is almost as though the novelist has a quarrel with nature and seeks revenge in disordered types, tossed and turned by fate.

Why is Hemingway so popular? Simply because he creates in the reader a false assurance that you can govern reality by subjective thought. This is a most comforting philosophy, albeit a deceitful one.

Then, too, you will note that he is most popular among the young. This is because he gives youth a dangerous, exciting path to follow. He has chosen elements of society that appeal to young people—Americans adrift in European capitals, young crusaders for "causes," young men and women face-to-face with war and its awful crises. Swept on in a Bohemian pattern of living and thinking, youthful readers are easily lulled into a trance in which they act and talk like Hemingway heroes.

For his hosts of admirers, life is always, "April in Paris," conversation is a series of short grunts between sips and puffs, death is the end of living, and sensual pleasure is the only barometer of happiness.

# Catholic Church in India

RT. REV. MSGR. J. BURKE  
*Vicar General of Delhi*

*Broadcast to Europe on April 17, 1955. Reprinted from the EXAMINER\**

AMONG the Christian Churches in India, the Roman Catholic Church occupies admittedly the most important position: it was the earliest to be established on the sub-continent, through the preaching, in the first instance, of St. Thomas, one of the twelve Apostles of Christ; and secondly it is the largest group among the Christians of all denominations—being more numerous than all the other denominations taken together.

That the Apostle St. Thomas preached the Gospel in India is now generally admitted by historians, though the details of his journeys and of his death have not been determined with certainty. The descendants of the converts made by St. Thomas and his immediate successors number over two million today, and the majority of them belong to the Catholic Church. They are distinguished by the fact that their sacred language—the language of their Holy Mass and other Sacraments—is Syriac, a language close-

ly akin to the one spoken by Our Divine Lord Himself. Like the Syrian Church of Malabar there are other Eastern Churches within the Roman Catholic Church whose religious language is not Latin, but one of the Oriental languages. But the vast majority of Catholics belong to the Latin rite, and that is true of India, too.

After the period of St. Thomas and his early successors, the next great movement of conversion to the Catholic Church began in the 16th century with the coming of the Portuguese. The Portuguese were zealous Catholics and had great missionary fervor. First came the Franciscans and after them the Jesuits and other religious orders. Of these missionaries the most famous was St. Francis Xavier, whose great zeal and holiness brought many converts to Catholicism. Another well-known missionary who worked during this period was Father Joseph Vaz, an Indian priest of great holiness who went to Cey-

\* 35 Medows Street, Fort, Bombay 1, India, May 14, 1955

lon to preach the Gospel, and is known as the Apostle of Ceylon. There were also the Jesuit Fathers who went to the Court of Akbar at the invitation of the Emperor and took part in the religious discussions which Akbar was fond of holding at Fatehpur Sikhri.

Another great missionary, Father Robert De Nobili, reacted strongly against the system of westernizing the converts. He himself adopted Indian ways of living and eating, wore the garments of the Indian sanyasis, studied the Indian languages and the Sacred Books of the land. He gave his converts Indian names, and permitted them to preserve the social custom of their class or caste. For example, he did not object to their keeping the "chuti," or tuft of hair, or marking the forehead with sandalwood paste; he encouraged them to continue as vegetarians—if they had been vegetarians before their conversion. In other words, he permitted the observance of caste customs in so far as they were purely social practices independent of religion. Many able and devoted men followed Father De Nobili. Among them we must mention Father Joseph Beschi, who mastered the Tamil tongue to such a degree that his poem on St. Joseph, known as *Tembavani*, is regarded as a classic in Tamil literature.

Finally, the 19th century saw the

extension of the missionary movement so as to embrace not only purely religious preaching, but the undertaking of educational and social works, like the care of the sick and the orphans. Conversions among the higher castes were not numerous. But missionary work among the aborigines and the very backward classes produced immediate results, and led to numerous conversions. The work of the Christian missionaries in promoting education among them, and raising their social and economic status, was widely appreciated.

#### A NATIVE CLERGY

The Catholic Church has never kept the communities converted by her missionaries in permanent dependence on the foreign missions. Her policy has ever been to train a clergy of the land as quickly as possible. Hence, from the beginning, along with the work of educating and forming the lay community, the Church has trained the Indian clergy and progressively handed over the management of dioceses to their care. At present, of over 5,000 priests working in India, about 3,500 are Indians and only about 1,500 foreigners. Even among these, many who had lived in India for long years have acquired Indian citizenship. Of the total of over 16,000 nuns, more than 12,000 are Indians. Of about 62 bishops in

India, about 40 are Indians, among them 9 archbishops, including one Cardinal Archbishop, His Eminence Valerian Cardinal Gracias of Bombay. His elevation to the supreme senate of the Catholic Church was hailed by all as the recognition by the authorities of the Church that the Catholic Church in India had come of age.

There is no doubt that the process of Indianization will be rapidly pushed forward and before long there will be relatively few foreign missionaries in India. They will be needed only where the Catholic communities—especially in certain parts of Central and Northern India—are not educationally and socially advanced enough to produce a clergy that will do honor to India, second to none in their learning, apostolate and spirit of sacrifice.

Five million strong, well organized and well equipped with institutions of all kinds, the Catholic Church in India can look forward to a future of great usefulness and of genuine prosperity in the land. Usefulness—first through the many educational and socially beneficial institutions which it conducts, factors which have always been much appreciated by the general public. The majority of students in our schools and colleges are Hindus. Through these institutions the Church has taken her part in forming the intellectual élite which has

won the independence of India and is today ruling the country.

Moreover, the Christian community, which is recognized by all leaders as an integral part of the Indian nation, has its own contribution to make to the composite culture of this land. India has received from her contact with the West the ideal of national unity and democratic equality which are now part of the Indian heritage. She has a great love for the personality and teachings of Jesus Christ, particularly for the ideal of Christian charity, service and dedication. It must be the duty of the Indian Catholic, as indeed of all Christians in India, to maintain these ideals untarnished, to be unwearied in well-doing in the service of the sick, the poor and the backward; and so to make a valuable contribution to the permanency of democracy in India.

Finally, I have said that the Catholic Church looks forward to a period of prosperity. The amplest Constitutional guarantees of religious liberty are given to her. It is true that there are communal elements in the country which are not friendly to the Church. But they do not represent the true spirit of the nation, its tolerance, its love of spiritual ideals. Indeed we may say with confidence that Catholicism is and will be regarded with more than ordinary sympathy by the Indian because it upholds certain ideals.

which are particularly precious to India and part of her own religious tradition. The ideal of monastic renunciation, the love of liturgy and chant, of religious symbolism, the importance given to the ascetical

and mystical elements in religion, so characteristic of the Catholic Church, will always evoke for her the sympathy and admiration of the deeply religious people of this ancient, beloved land.



### *The Trouble in Argentina*

You might say Peron grew angry with the Church because the Church got in his way when it refused to stay in the sacristy. And someone might raise the question: has the Church the right to leave the sacristy, to give its comment on the morality of the actions of the government, be it that of a democracy or of a dictator like Peron? Should there be a separation of Church and State in these matters?

Not only Protestants, but Catholics admit that there are two different circles of activity, one for the State and one for the Church.

Leo XIII said of the ecclesiastical and civil powers: "Each in its kind is supreme, each has fixed limits within which it is contained, . . . so that there is, we may say, an orbit traced out within which the action of each is brought into play by its own native right" (*Immortale Dei*).

But even the Protestants add the warning that these circles are not always entirely separate, that they overlap at points. In December, 1952, the General Assembly of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. issued a long message in which it said: "In our country, religion and government have not been like contiguous squares, but rather like circles which intersect at two points. These points have been the reverent awareness of God, on the one hand, and the recognition of absolute moral values on the other."

In Argentina the Church insisted on applying these absolute moral values where they intersected with Peron's actions. This hardly fits the plans of a dictator who aspires to totalitarianism. We only hope that, as it now seems, his aspirations have been thwarted.—REGISTER (*Peoria Edition*), July 31, 1955.

## Documentation

# To the Latin-American Hierarchy

POPE PIUS XII

*The Holy Father addressed this letter to His Eminence Adeodato Cardinal Piazza, Secretary of the Sacred Consistorial Congregation, who presided at the ten-day General Conference of the Latin-American hierarchy which began in Rio de Janeiro on July 25, 1955.*

VENERABLE BROTHER:

GREETINGS AND BENEDICTION.

OUR thoughts are directed with as much vigilance as love to the Church of Christ which lives in the Latin American countries, so renowned for their attachment to religion, for their enlightened civilization and for the hopes they offer for future greatness.

As the daily and active solicitude for all the Churches weighs on Us, who are charged with the heavenly mission of directing the whole of Christ's fold, it is quite natural that Our attention should turn with a particular insistence toward the numerous faithful who live on this vast continent. United as brothers—even in different countries—by geographic proximity, by the bonds of a common civilization and especially by the great gift received from evangelical truth, they constitute more than a quarter of the Catholic world: a magnificent phalange of sons of the Church, a dense crowd generously faithful to the ancestral traditions. This sight comforts Our spirit in the midst of the bitterness of the struggles and persecutions to which the name Christian and even belief in God are exposed in more than one part of the world.

In reality—and Our spirit is filled with a deep sorrow in recalling it—in certain parts of Latin America, even in our days, struggles and vexations against the Church are not lacking. But, We thank God for it, until now nothing has been able to extinguish in these vast regions the light of salvation emanating from the Cross of Christ, which as resplendent sunlight has risen from the dawn of their civilization.

Moreover, We do not wish to hide from you, Venerable Brother, that to this consideration is continuously united Our lively uneasiness, in seeing that the grave and ever growing problems of the Church in Latin America are not yet solved, especially the one which, with anguish and alarm, is called justly the most serious and dangerous: the shortage of priests.

The causes of this shortage are so well known that it is unnecessary to

cite them in detail. This shortage has been, during the past century, and still continues to be even today—in spite of the generous efforts which have been made to try to remedy it—a reason why Catholic life on this continent presents deficiencies which are becoming increasingly dangerous, although Catholic life is without doubt profoundly rooted in the minds of the people and is distinguished by magnificent manifestations, attaining sometimes even the heroism of martyrdom, the crown of the brave.

In effect, where the priest is lacking, or where he is not “a vessel for honorable use, sanctified, useful to the Lord, ready for every good work” (2 *Timothy* 2, 21) the light of religious truth is fatally obscured, the laws and precepts of life dictated by religion lose their strength, the life of grace is increasingly weakened, the morals of the people easily degenerate into laxity and carelessness. In public life as in private life a healthy resolve is worn down—a resolve which can manifest itself only when each person lives up to all the conditions imposed by the Gospel.

This shortage of religious and diocesan priests, which is today more accentuated and graver in relation to past times because of the increased number of apostolic problems of the Church, thwarts or, at the very least, retards for the people of Latin America, who are so dear to Us, the realization on the religious plane of the progress which they have happily accomplished in more than one other field.

### APOSTOLIC VOCATION

Trusting in the protection of God and in the patronage of the Most Holy Virgin, Patroness of Latin America, We do not share the pessimism that such conditions inspire in some people. We even nourish in our heart the hope that Latin America, having but a little, can in measure respond with vigorous zeal to the apostolic vocation that Divine Providence seems to have assigned to this great continent. It can be in the forefront of the noble mission of bringing to other peoples in the future the desired gifts of salvation and peace.

In order to achieve these wishes, it is necessary to act with eagerness, generous courage and strength, not dispersing precious energies but coordinating them so that the number of vocations will begin to multiply. It is necessary to turn to new forms and new methods of the apostolate which, with the same fidelity to ecclesiastical tradition, better answer the requirements of the age and profit from modern progress, which, if it often unfortunately serves evil, may and should, in good hands, be an instrument for men to work courageously for the triumph of virtue and the diffusion of truth.

It is for this reason that it appeared opportune for Us to welcome the petition presented to Us by the Latin American Episcopacy that it gather for a deeper study of the problems and the most appropriate means for resolving them as quickly and completely as necessity demands.

In addition, after the preparatory work of studying the present situation and possible remedies, the sacred pastors will meet again soon. The representatives of different ecclesiastical provinces and missionary districts of Latin America will share the results of their studies and will draw from them with



mutual accord precious practical conclusions for a more vigorous expansion of Catholic life throughout the continent.

Sharing their worries, quickened in Us by apostolic concern, We are very happy to be present through you, Venerable Brother, at their meeting and to bring to it through this letter, in witness of Our profound love, Our wishes and exhortations.

We are certain that in accomplishing the program proposed by the conference the zealous and very worthy prelates will fix their attention on the most appropriate and efficacious forms for continuously finding, cultivating and developing numerous vocations to the ecclesiastical and religious state among the young men of their countries; for forming holy and well prepared ministers of God and the Church; for protecting amidst dangers and temptations the ecclesiastical spirit which must distinguish him who is called to exercise the sacred ministry, especially so that his spirit is nourished ceaselessly with a continued and generous concern to cultivate piety and to accomplish the daily apostolic duty so that his priestly life is exempt from vanity and rich in fullness.

But since it will be a long time before vocations can answer the needs of each country, attentive concern should also be concentrated on the better means of utilizing to the service of the Church in Latin America the large number of clergy of other countries—clergy who cannot be considered as foreigners, for all Catholic priests who truly answer their vocation feel themselves native sons wherever they work, in order that the Kingdom of God may flourish and develop.

### AUXILIARIES

There is another domain, whose usefulness is in no way reduced, which we are going to call to the attention of those taking part in this episcopal conference. It is the possibility of calling to the aid of the clergy those who are rightly called its auxiliaries. In the first place, there are men in religious life who are not priests and the Sisters, who by their very vocation are shown as the most precious and the closest collaborators of apostolic action. Also there are great numbers of the most generous laity who know how to answer the invitation of the Master of the evangelical harvest, who with a sweet urgency calls them to join in diverse manners and with different tasks in the work and in the reward of apostolic workers. We truly think that, so long as the shortage of priests exists, the sacred hierarchy can find especially among them indispensable and providential aid for the work of the priests.

In addition we are persuaded that a sizable contribution to the work of apostolic forces in Latin America can come from cordial and well-organized collaboration among these groups and from study of appropriate methods to care for souls which experience reveals as well adapted to the particular conditions of the times. Another contribution can come from the more adequate use of modern technical means—like the press and radio—to diffuse and inculcate more efficaciously into men's minds the sacred word and the teachings of the Church, the guardian of truth.

Thus organized and set up Catholic forces will be able to confront the

arduous but fruitful struggle with additional strength for the defense of the Kingdom of God and its constant expansion.

Unfortunately, the assaults of the wily enemies are numerous. Energetic vigilance is necessary to repel them. These enemies are the ambushes of free masonry, Protestant propaganda, the several forms of laicism, superstition and spiritism, which spread more easily where ignorance of divine things is more grave and Christian life is more lukewarm, taking the place of true faith and deceptively satisfying the desires of the people thirsting for God. To these must be added the perverse doctrines of those who, under a false pretext for social justice and for the betterment of living conditions for the more humble classes, tend to remove from men's minds the inestimable treasure of religion.

Moreover, other questions ought—by reason of their urgency—be treated with the most diligent care at the conference, for it is a very vast field which is opened to the triumphs of the Catholic faith.

We should not overlook the following points of greatest importance: America with a hospitable charity gathers in its vast regions riches in mines and agricultural products—all that is necessary for life—multitudes of people, which need or violence brings from their own native land. The emigration of so many people, as one can readily understand, raises numerous problems to which We have directed Our attention and have given some norms in the Apostolic Constitution *Exsul Familia*, particularly in those things which concern the spiritual life of the emigrants.

We believe that it is necessary to underline how essential is the maternal presence of the Church in the field of social action, with its luminous teaching and its prudent activity. If the social question merits for all peoples the greatest consideration, it offers particular reasons for attracting the pastoral concern of the sacred hierarchy in Latin American countries, for it is a question intimately related to the religious life.

Finally, We wish to add a word about the possibilities and advantages of a larger and more cordial collaboration to which We paternally exhort not only the hierarchy and the faithful of the several Latin American nations but also all other people who in one manner or another can bring aid and support. It is aid and support which Latin America, We are sure, will be able to repay some day, greatly multiplied, to the whole Church of Christ when, We hope, it can happily count on its vast and precious energies, which seem, so to speak, to await the hand of the priest in order to concentrate themselves with an active enthusiasm in the service of God and His Kingdom.

Inspired by a paternal feeling, while nourishing this comforting hope of a happy future, hope which We entrust to the Sacred Heart of Jesus and the Immaculate Virgin Mother of God, We are happy to give to you, Venerable Brother, and to the very dear Cardinals, Archbishops, Bishops and prelates of Latin America and above all to those who participate in the coming conference at Rio de Janeiro, so that the most abundant fruits may result from their zeal and work, Our Apostolic Benediction. We also extend it wholeheartedly to the priests, the Religious and the faithful of Latin America.

# Persecution in Argentina

## ARGENTINE HIERARCHY

*This joint pastoral of the Argentine Hierarchy was written on June 7 but was withheld from publication until July 17. The introduction and the concluding section, however, are new. They were composed, as is clear from the text itself, only after the June 16 revolt.*

ON JUNE 7 of this year, the Argentine Bishops, gathered together in plenary assembly, signed a statement in which they denounced, and gave documentary proof of, the religious persecution in our country. Circumstances made it necessary to delay its publication.

The sad events of June 16 and their consequences made it advisable again to postpone publication until an opportune time, when the document might achieve the aims which we had in mind in preparing it.

We cannot remain indifferent to the call to pacification made by the highest authority of our land on July 5. On the contrary, it obligates us to give our loyal and sincere collaboration toward the common peace, the responsibility for which rests upon each and all of the Argentine people and upon each and all of the institutions in our country which contribute toward the good of the people.

The Catholic Church is a reality, not only in our land, but throughout the world. She has contributed effectively, not only from the initial hour of our free and independent life, but from the first impulse to attain it on May 25, 1810, and from the decisive declaration of independence on July 9, 1816.

Her essentially religious contribution was never lacking in any of the great national assemblies that started the independence movement of May, 1810, and brought it to a conclusion. Neither was it lacking on the battlefields, in the early colleges and universities, in the libraries and in the cultural activities of the press. Her priests, religious and sons in the Faith brought honor to the nation through their lives, their heroic feats and their sacrifices for the solution of national problems.

We do not wish to give ourselves credit for that. We only wish to recall a tradition upon which is now based our binding collaboration in the attainment of peace. Peace, at this time, is a national aspiration toward which the Church is not, and cannot be, aloof, since it is a matter of the common good. She also has her word to say.

The call to peace offers us proper occasion to unite our effort to that of all Argentines. With such intention, we publish today the statement which we signed on June 7, presenting it as we wrote it at that time. Our wish is to offer knowledge of the facts and of their nature in relation to the real and juridical order that engenders tranquillity which is peace, since this is the tranquillity of order.

All that alters, disrupts or suppresses this order voids and unjustly alters, disrupts and suppresses, in like measure, the tranquillity which pertains to it, bringing disorder, which is opposed to peace.

We are not attempting to make charges, or recall offenses, but to point out, without passion, the acts and injustices which injured an order based on natural law and on positive legitimate laws which protect rights, freedoms and moral values.

In doing so, we maintain the traditional stand of the Catholic Church, which is to remain outside and above all political parties.

Profoundly persuaded that the peace which we need and seek is the fruit of this real and juridical order, and trusting in the truth, we set forth the facts which have injured it. The truth appears more clear and in all its force when examined in its entirety, leaving aside circumstances and details in order to perceive what is most substantial and important.

### A. Painful and Unjust Situation

We would fall short of the serious duties of our episcopal ministry if we did not raise our voice to denounce before the Christian people the real and true situation of the Catholic Church in our country in the light of measures which, in rapid and surprising succession, have been taken against her, and, above all, in the light of insistent assurances—confusing to public opinion—that “there is no conflict whatever between the Church and State.”

If these statements did not emanate from the very authorities responsible for the situation, the factual evidence itself would inevitably and surely bring to people of all walks of life the truth of this painful and unjust situation.

If, after the publication of previous episcopal documents, there had ceased such denials of a conflict between the Church and State—as it seemed logical to expect—we would have limited ourselves to continuing the firm defense of the rights of God and of the Church and of the glorious heritage of the religious tradition of our people.

However, it has not been so. As the press multiplied its attacks in the most injurious manner—spreading defamatory and calumnious statements against priests, the Bishops and the Church, and even, at times, the august person of the Roman Pontiff—and as measures continued to be adopted contrary to the sentiment, doctrine and freedom of the Church and of her institutions, so did assurances multiply that there was no conflict whatever between the Church and the State.

We could not then keep silent. We discharged our sacred duty of denouncing and supplying documentary evidence of the real and actual situation of persecution against the Catholic Church on the part of the national authorities, whose plans are carried out systematically and inexorably, being aided throughout the Republic by the directives of both branches of the Peronist Party, by the authorities of the General Confederation of Labor and by the rest of the authorities in the provinces.

Following public accusations against the clergy, and against the Catholic organizations, of "infiltration and interference in governmental movements and particularly in trade-unions"—officially made to the governors of provinces and of the national territories—and even after the Luna Park concentration, assurance was given in the nation as well as abroad by responsible channels that there was no conflict with the Church on the part of the State: "There is no conflict with the Church here . . ." "There are four or five misguided priests here."

The Argentine embassies abroad made public an official communiqué which calmed the anxieties of the Catholics of our country and also surely of the world, strengthening the hope of a return to peace: "With misleading purposes," the statement of the Argentine embassy in Montevideo said, "there is being circulated abroad the story that a conflict has been initiated between the Catholic Church and the Government of Argentina. Nothing could be more removed from the truth. It is a false information, lacking sense once the position of the government in relation with Catholic worship is analyzed." "Investigations," the Argentine Embassy in London said, "have made it possible to arrive at the following conclusion: some priests, unfortunately, agreed, perhaps unconsciously, to become the instruments of politicians to whom all means are good to achieve their selfish ends."

These statements, in spite of obvious reservations caused by the simultaneous unleashing of a campaign, acrimonious in tone and injurious to the Church, its ministers and institutions, a campaign well known and remembered, gave hope that the force of the events would remain limited and confined henceforth.

However, the Luna Park assembly dissipated such hopes by its speeches and its reactions, manifested by hostile cries and open and depreciatory threats against priests and Catholic organizations. These reactions—extraordinarily out of harmony with the facts brought to light—disconcerted public opinion, rousing just suspicions and distrust, not to mention perplexity.

Subsequent developments entirely dissipated the trust which had been placed in official statements that no conflict whatever existed between the Church and State.

These included the suppression of the General Office and of the General Inspection of Religious Education; the law on public meetings, which followed the difficulties placed in the way of the closing ceremony of the Universal Marian Year last December 8; the law on absolute divorce; the decree legalizing contraceptives; the decree suppressing certain religious feasts; the law abolishing religious education in schools and colleges; the law suppressing exemption from taxes or duty to contributions "to religious institutions, their churches, convents, colleges and other dependent agencies, to their property or to their activities."

## **B. Separation of Church and State**

On May 19 the House of Representatives voted the constitutional amendment to separate the Church from the State; on the 20th the Senate

passed into law the bill for this purpose. In Article 1, there is declared as "necessary a partial amendment of the national constitution since it is linked to the Church and to its relations with the state, for the purpose of ensuring effective freedom and equality of worship."

As regards freedom, it is clear that in respect to the Church there has already begun a progressive plan to deprive her of such freedom. This is proved by the events pointed out, and by the most unjust and disparaging campaign against the Church carried on with increasing virulence by the press supporting the government.

Though respecting the personal conscience of those who belong to other religions, the Catholic Church could not, without contradicting herself, doctrinally admit an equality of all worships and of all religions. The Argentine Constitution, in Article 2 of paragraph 1 of the first part, establishes that "the federal government support the Catholic Apostolic Roman worship." The exact interpretation of this article is not limited to the obligation of the federal government economically to sustain the Church: "Sustain" does not simply mean to pay expenses or subsidize. It also means to aid and encourage.

This was the feeling of those who wrote the Constitution (we refer to that of 1853, since that of 1949 brought no changes in this regard). Gorostiaga, in referring to this article—which broke the constitutional tradition of Argentina, established in the formula "Catholic religion, religion of the State"—said in effect that it was a right and duty of the state to sustain Catholic worship, adding that "all men convinced of the divine origin of Catholicism beheld it as a duty of the government to maintain and support it among the citizens."

The conventional Segui, on his part, in supporting the article pointed out concretely that in the duty of sustaining worship "there was included the statements that the Catholic Apostolic Roman religion is that of the majority, or nearly the totality, of the people of the Argentine Republic, and that it also included the belief of the Constituent Congress in its truth, since it would be absurd to bind the federal government to the support of a worship which would symbolize a fancy."

Lastly Alberdi himself, replying to the objection that the text does not say "adopt" (such as he had suggested in its Bases) but "sustains the Catholic worship," declared: "Some saw bad intentions in the draft of the article which imposes support of the Catholic Apostolic Roman religion without speaking of adoption, as though the state could undertake the support of worship that was not its."

It is not a matter, furthermore, as has been stated, of only a "political and economic separation," but of a separation which, in affirming equality of all worships before the law, in fact denies the character of true religion to the Church of Jesus Christ; which imputes to the state a disavowal of the divine mission of the Church and of the divinity of Jesus Christ Our Lord.

The Church cannot but lament the separation of powers that she always claimed. As for economic separation, it was possible for the civil

and religious authorities to achieve it peacefully through an understanding, without violently breaking up a situation which signifies the fulfillment on the part of the Argentine Government of a pledge to supply, in part, the means which the Church uses to meet the economic needs of its administration and of its work, after having been deprived of its assets by the government of Rivadavia.

However, what we condemn is neither the separation of powers nor the economic separation, but principally the denial of the divine mission of the Church, translated into practice by measures of veritable persecution.

### C. Truth in Defense of the Church

We have confidence in the good sense of our people, in the understanding of our fellow citizens, who could not deny the right which is ours as Bishops and leaders of the Catholic Church in our country to claim, in our motherland, the freedom with which to carry out the mission of our ministry, which is that of spreading the truth and Catholic life among our fellow citizens.

On our part, we shall continue, however, to respect and love mankind, contesting errors and injustices with understanding charity, though with firmness. We could never accept, without protest, the charge that Bishops and priests, contemptuously referred to by the name of "clericalism," are guilty of a politico-clerical conspiracy, or of a clerical oligarchic alliance, against the interests of the working class and to the detriment of social justice, of which we have been accused, and of which we continue to be accused, without proof of these charges.

The large majority of the 67 priests imprisoned were set free due to lack of proof or circumstantial evidence. There is not one case legally proved of our clergy conspiring with or making common cause with opposing political parties against the authorities of the Republic or against the rights of workers in our country. We can assure, pledging our word, that the Bishops of Argentina neither accepted, nor could ever accept at any time, any understanding with any political party to defend the freedom and rights of the Church against the legitimate government of the nation under any case, not even in that of persecution and oppression.

Steadfast, and conscious of our responsibilities before God and men, and inspired by God's love which we owe mankind, we Bishops and priests neither need nor desire other weapons, nor any other power than the strength of truth with which Jesus Christ armed us in the face of the powers of the earth to defend the rights and freedom of the Church, which, in the face of oppressions of whatever sort, coincide with the rights and freedom of the human person.

"The Church, by her very existence, rises before the world as a luminous beacon to remind it constantly of that divine order. Her history reflects, with transparency, her providential mission. The battles which, oppressed by the abuse of power, she has had to suffer in defense of the freedom granted to her by God were at the same time battles for the true freedom of man" (Pius XII, Christmas Message, 1944).



A campaign by the pro-government press has unscrupulously defamed and slandered the priesthood and the episcopacy of our land. It has belittled those who have been effectively united in all movements and activities which constitute our country as an independent nation. With the unanimous approval of our fellow citizens, we are willing to forgive and forget this campaign of slander. We pray that God may enlighten those who try vainly to expose us to the derision and contempt of our noble people. Our people know what the Church, its priests and bishops, have done for the country, seeking no other reward than the fraternal respect of their fellow citizens.

### D. The People Know Their Bishops and Priests

There is no doubt, in view of facts, that the press strives systematically to present us as enemies of social justice and of the people.

Nor merely to justify ourselves, but to give knowledge of the disrespectful language used against us, against the prestige of our country and against the prestige of the press itself, we pick phrases recently published by a spokesman of the dailies of Buenos Aires: "With ignorant pastors, lacking in virtue, hypocrites and liars, little will be gained in persons' souls. And less still, when there is followed the practice of forcing men to believe in what they do not believe. In matters of the spirit, more so than in any other, it is well to persuade rather than oblige."

This is a sample of the uniform language through which, since the Luna Park meeting, the press itself tries to belittle the clergy, the Bishops and the work of the Church in our country, presenting us as enemies of the people and the workers.

We have confidence in the good sense of our people, in the understanding of our fellow citizens, who know their priests and Bishops and the evangelizing work of the Church in our country. God and the Gospel are so great and our mission so high that they surely deserve priests and Bishops more virtuous and more self-effacing than ourselves. Nevertheless, we wish to reject accusations so serious and baseless, with a clear conscience of being neither traitors to God, our mission, nor our people.

We are not, nor shall we ever be, separated from our people. Still less shall we be against them. We are an integral part of them, fellow citizens of the same country. The well-being of the workers has never been, nor could it be, a matter of indifference to us. If we cannot accomplish the Church's program of social justice, we teach it, defend it and continuously spread it, preparing the environment, with a constant insistence on the wise doctrines of the Pontiffs, Leo XIII and Pius XI. We are united in the common effort to achieve and sustain it, supporting all that has already been done, not excluding this period that started the revolution.

It is an undeniable and painful, though actual, fact, which we recall with sorrow in the face of such accusations, that two of the fundamental motives for the collaboration of Catholics in the government that rose out of the revolution were the promise of religious education and the program of social justice. These were essential points of the electioneering



propaganda which attracted many Catholics, who sincerely gave their collaboration, being confident that their religion, which insisted on the two points, would be respected.

The social reforms could not be accomplished without the modification of environments and consciences, in both high and low places. Such a modification is not to be accomplished suddenly. Besides this, has the Church in its hands the necessary means alone to accomplish social reforms? When governments fully strive to bring them into action, it is because the environment—if not at the point of full maturity—is at least prepared for such reforms.

This same press—between diatribes and insults of which the country well knows—not only accused the Church of not having accomplished the social reforms which its mission and its social banner imposed, but imputed to her an alliance with the rich. At the same time, it illogically intimated that the Church should confine herself in her temples and limit her activities exclusively to the spiritual.

We remain convinced that social reforms need a basic doctrinal foundation and a moral context which no doctrine and no method foreign to Catholic teaching and morals could ever supply. In this connection, we enter the most serious part of this documentation, which proves the truth of our denunciation of the persecution against the Church in the Argentine Republic.

### E. "Authentic" Christianity of the State

The persecutions against the Church recorded by history have been gradual in their seriousness and danger. They have been of all kinds. The serious ones, such as those of the Roman Empire, sought its destruction. However, what can be said of a persecution which strives to replace the Catholic Church with "an authentic Christianity" opposed to the authentic Church founded by Jesus Christ, and which He himself established on the unshakable rock of Peter and his successors?

In this attempt to create an "authentic" Christianity to replace the Catholic Church, the Church is to be stripped of its prestige and then fought and made powerless through all possible means. The state, however, neither has the competence nor function, nor still less the mission, to create a religion which, though it may be called authentic, constitutes, by the mere fact that it springs from the state and is identified with it, an intent to dominate consciences and in their most holy aspect, the freedom to worship God. This represents an attempt in our land—one with a Catholic majority and of undeniably Catholic tradition—to break up the most profound tie of unity of the Argentine family. It is a disavowal and negation of the spiritual values which have given impulse and vitality to all the generations that preceded us.

We are not attempting to judge the project of extending such an "authentic" Christianity to America and the world, according to the phrase pronounced in the House of Representatives, since it was irremediably killed, amidst applause.

## F. Concluding Remarks

In briefly documenting this statement, we declare before our Catholic people and our fellow citizens that the only aim which prompted us to fulfill this very painful duty as Bishops and as Argentinians is the defense of the rights of God—as Jesus Christ taught us in establishing the Catholic Church—and of the Church's rights and liberty, as well as the rights and liberty of her religious organizations, whose aims are not political but religious and apostolic.

With God's help we shall defend them with firmness and dignity and by the power of truth and right, respecting the office of our political authorities and obeying them as having authority from God in everything that is just and in everything which looks to the welfare of all, excepting, however, God's laws, those of our religious freedom, the precepts of the Church and our unity with the Vicar of Christ, who is the center of unity of the Church itself.

We forgive the slander of a press that has forgotten the respect it owes to our office, a press that should never have ignored, as it also did, the respect due its fellow citizens and lastly to the human person and the prestige of our country. In defending the rights of God and of the human person, we have no wish to fight anyone.

We trust in the justice of our cause, in the good sense and Christian tradition of the majority of Argentines, and in that indestructible fraternal inclination which brought our ancestors into the embrace of peace, even after bloody encounters on the fields of civil conflict.

We shall pray for our faithful and for those who still persecute us, so that the day may be hastened when they shall understand that nothing solid, nothing lasting can be created by the suppression of legitimate religious and public freedoms, nor of those of the human person, which are essential for the progress and greatness of nations.

This is what we stated at that time (June 7) and which we publish now in the hope that our firm and loyal frankness will contribute to the reestablishment of order as an indispensable condition of that tranquillity which gives peace.

In this painful pursuit of peace, we only wish to remind that we are united in the common sorrow caused by the deaths and wounds of many victims which sadden our homes. The Church has suffered not only through the wounds and deaths of its people, but also in its own flesh through profanations, fires and sacrilegious destruction, which were not only detestable and horrible in themselves but expressive of a frightful subversion of values. Neither we ourselves nor the people can yet understand why this could not have been avoided.

However, everything can be forgotten and forgiven, and this we wish to do in our statement, which contains the forgiveness of all institutions, of all priests, religious and faithful profoundly affected by such events.

May God Our Lord grant that so much pain, tears and anguish may not remain unfruitful and that they may lead us to the paths of peace.

For this purpose it is necessary to acknowledge the urgent need of re-establishing order, which was indeed truly injured, as we have shown by documentary proof.

We understand that this may not be accomplished at once, but may have to be done gradually. However, going to the bottom of the problem and to the last root from which have sprung and still spring the majority of disorders which are opposed to peace, we deem it our duty to point out the urgent need of reestablishing the indispensable conditions so that a real and true public opinion, conforming to the beliefs and will of all inhabitants of the country, may be freely and fully manifested.

For this purpose there is indispensable freedom of assembly, of press and radio—without direct or indirect restrictions—which may justly and legitimately reflect public opinion.

We judge as urgent a due protection of the legitimate rights and liberties of the Church and institutions, of public rights and liberties and those of the human person, so that peace may once more bring that trust and serenity hoped for by all the people.

We hope that patriotism, the spirit of brotherhood and the love of God may bring comfort to the hearts of all Argentines at this hour when events demand sacrifices from all, as well as efforts that will make clear that the highest good of the country is a return to peace based upon respect for justice and freedom. We ask it of God Our Lord and we hope that, through His help, this may happen for the good of our country.

Given in Buenos Aires, on July 13, in the year of Our Lord 1955.



### *Why Family Allowances?*

The National Catholic Conference on Family Life once again at its convention this year repeated its support of a National Family Allowance Act to alleviate "many of the serious economic hardships that beset large numbers of American families."

None of these experts or groups is suggesting that the state take over the support of our children. They are only saying that a person with a large family usually needs financial help in raising that family. Therefore, the Federal Government, which through subsidies supports many special groups, should also give some support to the very backbone of our nation—our families.

At present, the United States is the only large industrialized nation which doesn't have a family-allowance system. Over forty other industrial nations do have such systems.—VOICE OF ST. JUDE, *June*, 1955.

# Labor Day, 1955

*Annual statement issued by the Social Action Department, NCWC.*

TEN years have elapsed since the NCWC Social Action Department issued its first annual Labor Day Statement. From time to time during those eventful years there was reason to fear that its guarded optimism about the future of labor-management relations in the United States was merely wishful thinking. The first and most serious cause of alarm was the enactment by the Congress early in 1947 of an excessively legalistic labor-management relations act which was destined to stir up bad blood between unions and employers, to involve them in wasteful litigation, and, finally, to plunge them more deeply than ever before into a partisan struggle for political advantage. Similar legislation enacted by many States, both before and after the Federal law was passed, has had the same bad effects. So-called right-to-work legislation has been particularly harmful.

Fortunately, however, in spite of these and other items on the debit side of the ledger, the optimistic tone of our first Labor Day Statement and of all our succeeding statements was at least partially warranted. The past decade has been one of substantial progress in the field of industrial relations, and there is every reason to hope that the next ten years will be even better. Continued optimism is based, in part, on the expectation that the Congress and at least some of the State legislatures will modify or repeal the laws referred to above and will then look for new opportunities of encouraging the further development of constructive labor-management cooperation through the process of collective bargaining.

If collective bargaining is not the perfect formula for social justice in the field of labor-management relations, it is, in any event, the best formula available at the present time. Moreover, there is ample evidence that it is gradually developing or being transformed into what the Director General of the International Labor Organization has recently characterized as "collective thinking rather than conflicting bargaining." Given a modicum of good-will on the part of labor and management, plus the necessary minimum of encouragement by government, this gradual but steady transformation of "conflicting bargaining" into "collective thinking" between unions and employers in the United States will, it is hoped, eventually result in a full-blown system of economic democracy such as no other country has ever before enjoyed.

The year 1955 witnessed at least two major developments which augur well for the continued development of collective bargaining along such constructive lines. The first was the long-awaited decision on the part of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations to merge into a single federation as of this December. We look with satisfaction upon this amalgamation principally because it will make it easier

for the trade-union movement to organize the unorganized workers of the United States and thereby promote the further growth of collective bargaining in the services and trades, as well as in the field of manufacturing. It will also help to eliminate jurisdictional disputes between competing unions and will enable the American labor movement to present a unified front in its opposition to Communism at home and abroad.

Some commentators feel that this merger will give labor an undue political influence. In our opinion, this is not likely to happen, for the majority of labor officials in this country are still committed to the philosophy that a union's principal function is economic and social rather than political. Collective bargaining in the United States is far from perfect. Nevertheless, it has worked sufficiently well so that organized labor need not turn to the government for the solution of all its problems.

The second major development which marked the year 1955 as a significant turning-point in the development of collective bargaining was the peaceful negotiation of so-called Guaranteed Annual Wage plans in large segments of the automobile industry. We do not propose to pass judgment on the specific details of these important contracts, or to urge the adoption of identical contracts in unrelated industries. We do feel, however, that the principle established in these agreements is sound. Surely it is a healthy sign that union and management in a key industry are willing to assume joint responsibility for providing their workers with a large measure of income security and employment stability instead of turning the whole job over to the government.

If labor and management will address themselves with the same intelligence and the same spirit of good-will to the continuing problem of automation and to all other problems of mutual concern, they will be doing a great service not only to our own nation but also, by force of good example, to other nations as well. More specifically, they will be moving in the direction of the so-called Industry Council idea, a key point in Catholic teaching on the social order. No other nation is so favorably situated as is the United States to demonstrate the practical as well as the theoretical advantages of this method of organized self-government as a means of regulating economic life, democratically and from the ground up, in the interest of the general welfare.

It will be obvious, of course, that the government has an indispensable role to play in this entire process. The government's role, in the words of Pope Pius XI's encyclical *On Reconstructing the Social Order*, is that of "directing, watching, urging, restraining, as occasion requires and necessity demands." The government "ought, therefore, to let subordinate groups handle matters and concerns of lesser importance which would otherwise dissipate its efforts greatly." As already indicated, that means in the field of industrial relations that the government ought to encourage unions and employers' associations to solve their own problems to the extent that they are willing and able to do so in conformity with the requirements of the common good.

It goes without saying, of course, that the government also has the right

and the duty to require certain minimum standards in wages, hours and working conditions, to prohibit racial discrimination in employment, to provide adequate public housing for substandard economic groups, and to establish an adequate program of social insurance. In these as well as in other areas of legitimate governmental activity we have already made a good beginning, but much remains to be done. We call attention in particular to the urgent necessity of extending the benefits of social legislation as rapidly as possible to migratory labor and to other marginal and unprotected workers. Serious efforts should also be made to provide special assistance to families with children in our economy. In this connection, it is gratifying to note that a resolution is now before the U. S. Senate calling for a complete study of the Canadian Family Allowances Act with a view to establishing a similar system of family allowances for the promotion of the health and well-being of children in the United States. We congratulate the sponsors of this resolution and respectfully urge its adoption as a first step toward the solution of a very serious economic problem.

In conclusion, we call upon labor and management to make of Labor Day a truly Christian feast under the patronage of St. Joseph, "the humble workman of Nazareth," who, in the words recently addressed by Pope Pius XII to a workers' pilgrimage in Rome, "not only personifies before God and the Church the dignity of the manual laborer, but also is always the provident guardian of you and your families." In establishing the new liturgical feast of St. Joseph the Workingman and assigning it specifically to the European Labor Day, the First of May, His Holiness expressed the hope that it will prove to be "a recurring invitation to modern society to accomplish that which is still lacking for social peace."

We express the same hope with regard to our own distinctively American Labor Day and call upon all men of good-will in the ranks of labor and management, as well as in every other walk of life, to deepen their religious life, to study carefully the principles of social justice and social charity, and then to make a conscious effort to put these principles into practice in their respective economic organizations and in the civic and political life of our beloved country. It is only in this way that we can hope to supply "that which is still lacking for social peace."

## THE CATHOLIC MIND

EDITOR: Thurston N. Davis

EXECUTIVE EDITOR: Benjamin L. Masse

With the collaboration of the *AMERICA* staff

EDITORIAL OFFICE: 329 West 108th St., New York 25, N. Y.

BUSINESS MANAGER: Joseph F. MacFarlane

CIRCULATION MANAGER: Patrick H. Collins

BUSINESS OFFICE: 70 East 45th St., New York 17, N. Y.